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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
A CASE STUDY OF PARENTAL VALUES, EXPECTATIONS, AND
SATISFACTION IN THREE-GENERATION FAMILIES

BY



ROGER HILDEBRAND

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled *A Case Study of Parental Values, Expectations, and Satisfaction in Three-generation Families*, submitted by Roger Hildebrand in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Counseling Psychology.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe the satisfaction that parents derive from their children, to place this satisfaction within the context of value similarity existing between parents and their children, and to determine if the reasons for this satisfaction reflect the concepts of social usefulness, generativity, and life-meaning.

Fifty eight individuals, making up 18 family groups, not randomly selected, were questioned. Each of the family groups was made up of a great-grandparent, a grandparent, a parent, and in five groups, an adolescent child. A demographic questionnaire, a value survey, a list of activities, and a family-life questionnaire were administered to each person. In addition, the adults, but not the adolescents, were interviewed.

Value similarity between parents and their children was established by using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation. Intrafamily value similarity and the relationship between value similarity and several variables, were established using Fisher's Z.

The similarity between parental values and parental expectations, parental values and sources of parental satisfaction, and parental expectations and sources of parental satisfaction were examined by using content analysis. A strong similarity was found between parental values and parental expectations. The similarity between parental values and sources of parental satisfaction was

weaker.

The concepts of social usefulness, life-meaning, and especially generativity were inferred from the reasons parents gave for their satisfaction.

The results cannot be generalized beyond the individuals examined in the study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to describe the satisfaction that parents derive from their children, to place this satisfaction within the context of value similarity existing between parents and their children, and to determine if the reasons for this satisfaction reflect the concepts of social usefulness, generativity, and life-meaning. These, and related topics, very rarely appear in the literature. There are many reasons for this neglect. This is an area which may be important in the lives of parents but which is also subject to social prohibitions against bragging, making the acquisition of information difficult. It is also a topic which is difficult to organize, focus upon, measure, and analyze.

This study will involve descriptions of many life-patterns and variables which interact with them. In many cases, the focus will be unique, in that some areas will be examined for the first time. A picture of this complex area will be presented and several important hypotheses will be suggested. A framework within which vicarious parental satisfaction can be understood will also be presented and some of the factors which are related to this satisfaction will be identified and evaluated.

A number of theoretical approaches can be used to develop an explanation for vicarious parental satisfaction. Adler (1970) suggested that people have an innate urge to contribute to the well-being

of others and to act in a way that enhances the interests of society.

He wrote:

A child so trained will feel himself to be a part of a whole, a member of the whole human race, a member who lives with, works with, and plays with other members, and who regards first the small tasks of his childhood and later the greater tasks of his maturity in only one way - by asking himself this question, "What can I contribute?" Through parental, usually maternal training, social interest or its lack is developed in the child. (p. 225)

Presumably a mother could ask, "What have I contributed to society?" and Adler would reply, "The life of your child."

According to Adler, this contribution takes place throughout the human life-span and encompasses the values that people, especially parents, hand on to others. This is a contribution which parents feel obligated to make. If this is the case, a person could argue that a child's rejection of this contribution may lead to parental resentment and anger, based on the nonattainment of parental goals and on the frustration of a learned expression of a basic human drive, the need to contribute. This drive, masked by issues of obedience and filial respect, is rarely examined.

Adler (1928) also placed a great deal of importance on the role of birth-order in the development of an individual. In describing the youngest child, he wrote:

His striving for power becomes markedly accentuated and we find the youngest very usually a man who has developed a desire to overcome all others, satisfied only with the very best.... But there is another more unfortunate group of these same youngest children; they also have a desire to excel but lack the necessary activity and self-confidence,

as a result of their relationship to their older brothers and sisters. If the older children are not to be excelled, the youngest frequently shies from his tasks, becomes cowardly, a chronic plaintiff forever seeking an excuse to evade his duties. He does not become less ambitious, but he assumes that kind of ambition which forces him to wriggle out of situations, and satisfy his ambitions in activity outside of the necessary problems of life, to the end that he may avoid the danger of an actual test of ability, so far as possible.... The youngest child acts as though he were neglected and carried a feeling of inferiority within him. (Adler, 1928, p. 150)

The oldest child also has well-defined characteristics and these are based on some very important advantages. Adler (1928) wrote:

For one thing he has the advantage of an excellent position for the development of his psychic life. History recognizes that the oldest child has had a particularly favorable position. Among many peoples, in many classes, this advantageous status has become traditional ... the oldest child is usually the one whom one accredits with enough power and common sense to be the helper or foreman of his parents.... If his development in this direction goes without disturbance then we shall find him with the traits of a guardian of law and order. Such persons have an especially high evaluation of power.... It is not surprising that such individuals are markedly conservative. (Adler, 1928, p. 152-153)

Of the second-born, Adler wrote:

The striving for power in the case of the second-born child also has its special nuance. Second-born children are constantly under steam, striving for superiority under pressure.... The fact that there is someone ahead of him who has already gained power is a strong stimulus for the second-born. If he is enabled to develop his powers and takes up the battle with the first-born, he will eventually move forward with a great deal of elan, while the first-born, possessing power, feels himself relatively secure until the second threatens to surpass him. The attitude of the second-born is similar to the envy of the poor classes. There is a dominant note of being slighted, neglected, in it. The second-born may place his goal so high that he suffers from it his whole life. (Adler, 1928, p. 153-154)

Of the only child, Adler wrote:

He becomes dependent to a high degree, waits constantly for someone to show him the way, and searches for support at all times. Pampered throughout his life, he is accustomed to no difficulties because one has always removed difficulties from his way. Being constantly the center of attention he very easily acquires the feeling that he really counts for something of great value.... An eternal fear of difficulties arises in him and he approaches them in an unpracticed and clumsy manner because he has tested only the pleasant things in life. Such children have difficulties with every independent activity and sooner or later they become useless for life. (Adler, 1928, p. 154-155)

From these descriptions, a number of inferences can be made regarding the relationship between birth-order and vicarious parental satisfaction. An oldest child will bring a great deal of satisfaction but a great deal will be expected of him. The youngest child, especially if that child is not able to surpass older siblings, will be protected by parental excuses which will tend to insulate him from the effects of failure. The only child will achieve little but will be greatly praised. In the latter two cases, vicarious parental satisfaction will exist but there will not be a realistic basis for it. Following Adler's line of thought, parents should be more satisfied with their oldest child than with other children.

Erikson (1963) identified a number of issues which an individual must resolve in order to attain an integrated life. Three of these arise during the adult years. The fact that they arise in sequence allows life-development to be divided into stages. As each issue is resolved, an individual moves into the next stage and faces the next issue. However, progression is not inevitable. Erikson (1976) also

stated that a person can remain at a specific stage or even regress to an earlier one. Advancement from one stage to another usually takes place through oscillation between stages and an individual becomes more or less located at a specific stage when a higher stage begins to determine the interplay.

The first adult stage is intimacy, or the "capacity to commit oneself to concrete affiliations and partnerships and to develop the ethical strength to abide by such commitments, even though they may call for significant sacrifices and compromises" (Erikson, 1963, p. 263). A failure to complete this stage can be due to a fear of intimacy and such a failure can lead to a sense of isolation and self-absorption.

In this stage, the love received in early life is transformed into care which is given to others. This results in both a mutual and shared identity, and in love, which guarantees individual identity within the context of joint intimacy (Erikson, 1964).

The second adult stage is generativity. Erikson (1963) wrote: The fashionable insistence on dramatizing the dependence of children on adults often blinds us to the dependence of the older generation on the younger one. Mature man needs to be needed and maturity needs guidance as well as encouragement from what has been produced and must be taken care of.

Generativity, then, is primarily the concern for establishing and guiding the next generation.... And indeed, the concept "generativity" is meant to include such popular synonyms as productivity and creativity, which, however, cannot replace it. (p. 266-267)

Generativity, referring as it does to the establishment and guidance of the next generation, provides a person with a continuity between this life and the future. It takes place primarily through the family. Through the care and solicitude that a parent shows toward a child, meaning is imparted to the child's experiences, and a particular world image and style of interaction are given to the child. Erikson wrote:

Parenthood is, for most, the first, and for many, the prime generative encounter, yet the perpetuation of mankind challenges the generative ingenuity of workers and thinkers of many kinds. A man needs to teach, not only for the sake of those who need to be taught, and not only for the fulfillment of his identity, but because facts are kept alive by being told, logic by being demonstrated, truth by being professed. Thus, the teaching passion is not restricted to the profession. Every mature adult knows the satisfaction of explaining what is clear to him and of being understood by a groping mind. (Erikson, 1964, p. 130-131)

Erikson (1964) spoke of this stage as an innate need to be needed. An older person needs a younger person in order to fulfill his identity. Through the process of generativity, the facts, logic, and truths acquired by the older person, especially the parent, are kept alive. If this does not occur, the person will suffer stagnation and personal impoverishment.

The final adult stage is integrity. Erikson (1963), in discussing this stage, wrote:

Lacking a clear definition, I shall point to a few constituents of this state of mind. It is the ego's accrued assurance of its proclivity for order and meaning. It is a postnarcissistic love of the human ego - not of the self - as an experience which conveys some world order and spiritual sense, no

matter how dearly paid for. It is the acceptance of one's one and only life cycle as something that had to be and that, by necessity, permitted of no substitutions: it thus means a new, a different love of one's parents. It is an comradeship with the ordering ways of distant times and different pursuits, as expressed in the simple products and sayings of such times and pursuits. Although aware of the relativity of all the various life styles which have given meaning to human striving, the possessor of integrity is ready to defend the dignity of his own life style against all physical and economic threats. For he knows that an individual life is the accidental coincidence of but one life cycle with but one segment of history; and that for him all human integrity stands or falls with the one style of integrity of which he partakes. (p. 268)

Ego integrity is the acceptance of one's life, a sense of dignity regarding one's life style, a sense of integration in the face of both past failings and the dread of ultimate non-being (Erikson, 1976). It can serve as a balance to the despair which is based on the knowledge that a limited life is coming to a conclusion. The opposite of integrity is depression and unhappiness about life. These are based on a feeling that life is now too short to begin a new road to integrity. For this reason, aging and death are feared.

Erikson (1976) pointed out that integrity can be masked by a rationalized bitterness and disgust, as people attempt to alter and reinterpret their experiences and memories. This could be part of the process that Czaja (1975) was describing when she examined the effects on life-satisfaction of a discrepancy between the real self-concept and the ideal self-concept. She found that life-satisfaction scores tended to increase with age. However, a discrepancy between the ideal self and the real self was related to a decrease in satisfaction.

A congruence between the ideal self-concept and the real self-concept was important for life-satisfaction and the elderly seemed to have a more realistic and positive self-perception than the young. Her study allows an observer to conclude that an increase in integrity in older people is proportional to a decrease in the discrepancy between the ideal self-concept and the real self-concept, between the way they want to be and the way they really are. Such a decrease may, among other things, indicate that older people develop and accept a more realistic ideal self-concept, one which is more in line with their past life. People who fail to make this adjustment and who attempt to retain the unrealistic ideal self-concept and alter the real self-concept, will present a facade of integrity and satisfaction, and perhaps a facade that is rather weak.

Gruen (1964) examined Erikson's stages and found that a positive correlation existed between the stages. He also found that differences in age, gender, and social class were not correlated with significant differences in scores of intimacy, generativity, and integrity. However, some differences were found.

Younger and older groups, both men and women, tended to score higher on integrity than middle age groups. This result could be due to differences in both cohort-based expectations and in the realization of these expectations. In other words, the hopeful attitude of youth may negate the effects of unfulfilled expectations. On the other hand, the matured wisdom of the elderly may result in a change in

expectations. The effect, in both cases, could be an increase in integrity. The lower integrity scores found in middle age may be the result of continued high expectations accompanied by an awareness that these expectations may not be realized.

Intimacy scores increased slightly with age, among women, but decreased among men. This could be due to the continuation of good relations between a woman and her children. Changes in intimacy scores were also found when different social classes were examined. Lower-class and upper middle-class respondents tended to score lower than respondents in the lower middle class and in the working class. This could be due to an upper middle class stress on mobility and occupational achievement, and to instability, which seems to be characteristic of the lower class. Neither of these situations is conducive to the development of close relationships or to the development of a firm sense of intimacy.

Despair, based on a sense of failure, is the negative side of Erikson's final stage. While the totality of this sense of failure may not exist until later life, despair or integrity are likely to be experienced early. As a person gets older and as more and more experiences are found on the side of success or failure, the issue of success or failure becomes more salient. For example, an initial rejection or acceptance of parental values will produce less of a reaction than a later acceptance or rejection. As later rejections increase, the pain and fear associated with failure will likely increase

in intensity. This increase will take place because the final evaluation of failure will be in the process of being solidified. This may explain why Gruen (1964) was unable to find significant age differences. While the resolution of these issues is generally sequential, the parameters are not rigid and a great deal of over-lap takes place. This implies that at virtually any age, an adult can be struggling, in varying degrees of intensity, with intimacy, generativity, and integrity.

In commenting on Erikson's stages, Rogers (1979) pointed out that one should not look upon these stages in terms of an "all or nothing" resolution. Rather, a person exists on a continuum and moves between the two extremes of each stage. He also suggested that the resolution of a task at a particular stage is facilitated by non-resolution. In other words, it is by experiencing isolation, stagnation, and despair that one can appreciate and strive for intimacy, generativity, and integrity.

Erikson's stages can easily be related to the issue of parental satisfaction with a child's activity. Without intimacy, for example, the transmission of parental values and traditions may become a matter of legislation and blind obedience. A child may be told to carry out an action because someone, the parent, wants him to do it. The existence of intimacy turns the focus around. Children are told what to do and demands are made of them, but these demands are "other-oriented." Children are expected to comply not because simple obedience enhances the ego of the parent, but because compliance will

facilitate their survival. Noncompliance with a parental command could be regarded, by a non-intimate parent, as an act of rebellion. An intimate parent may see disobedience as a source of future pain, associated with the inability of a loved one to function effectively in life.

Another approach that can be used to explain vicarious parental satisfaction may be inferred from the writings of Frankl (1963), who stated:

According to logotherapy, we can discover this meaning in life in three different ways: (1) by doing a deed; (2) by experiencing a value; and (3) by suffering. The first, the way of achievement or accomplishment, is quite obvious. The second and third need further elaboration.

The second way of finding a meaning in life is by experiencing something such as a work of nature or culture, and also by experiencing someone, i.e., by love. (p. 176)

Using Frankl's approach, one can ask if children give meaning to the lives of their parents. If they do, is that meaning embedded in the actions of these children insofar as the actions reflect upon what they were taught by their parents? It is reasonable to argue that at least some parents will regard the actions of their children as a reflection upon their own role as parents, and will link the fulfillment of that role with meaningfulness in life. However, Frankl does not extend his analysis in this direction.

The most developed theoretical approach to the question of vicarious parental satisfaction is found in the writings of Erikson. This is not surprising since he, more than the others, deals with life-

span development. Adler's concept of social interest and Frankl's concept of life-meaning can be related to Erikson's concept of generativity even though they are not functionally equivalent concepts.

Generativity, Erikson pointed out, is a matter of both producing and guiding the following generation. Values can be an important issue in this stage, since a person is not only handing on life and acquired knowledge to another generation, but also a way of life, beliefs, goals, and ideals. These are all related to values. In fact, Erikson (1976) pointed out that value transmission was an aspect of generativity. Using Rokeach's (1973) definition of values, which classified them as either life-goals or means to attaining these goals, one can argue that value transmission is not simply an aspect of generativity, but a vital aspect, especially in parental generativity.

Values are developed through the interaction of the individual with his social setting, especially with his parents. Subsequently, values are tested, changed, or confirmed through experience, and most individuals invest a great deal of time and energy in this process. Values, once developed, are used to appraise things, events, and possibilities. They may also serve as central guides for an individual's behavior.

In acquiring parental values, children are, in effect, confirming the value-related goals, ideals, and actions of the parents. Children are, in a sense, confirming the parents' lives. While values are not the only things acquired from parents, they may be among the more

important, and value transmission may play an important role in the successful resolution of the generative stage in a parent's life.

These approaches suggest a number of areas that can be described. These include parental values, expectations, sources of satisfaction, and justification for the satisfaction. The descriptions will be based on the following questions. Is social usefulness in life, or meaningfulness in life, developed and enhanced through the transmission of values from a parent to a child? Is this also one of the subtasks of generativity? If this is the case, and if a socially useful or meaningful life is important, then value conformity between a parent and a child should be a source of satisfaction for the parent. Do parents express their pleasure with this conformity in terms which convey these concepts?

A more detailed presentation of the areas of concern will be given in the following chapter. This will be followed by a review of existing research on values, parental expectations, and sources of satisfaction. The methods used to carry out this study, will be described in the fourth chapter and this will be followed by a presentation of the results of the study. An overview will be presented in the conclusion.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As mentioned in the introduction, the purpose of this study is to describe the satisfaction that parents derive from their children, to place this satisfaction within the context of parent to child value transmission, and to determine if this parental satisfaction is expressed in terms which indicate social usefulness, generativity, and meaning in life. The description will be based on the questions:

The central question of this study can be stated in the following way:

Is there a relationship between parental values, parental expectations, and sources of parental satisfaction. What does this relationship mean to parents?

That is to say:

When a parent's values are translated into expectations of a child, and when this parent perceives the existence of a state of conformity between these value-laden expectations and the actions of that child, will the parent regard the child as an important source of satisfaction? Will this satisfaction be expressed or explained in terms which convey the concepts of social usefulness, generativity, or life-meaning?

Questions subsequent to these initial questions can be grouped as follows:

1. **Values.** Is there a similarity between the values of the parent and the values of the child? How do parents describe the development of value similarity between themselves and their children? Does the value similarity that exists between a parent and child change when changes occur in variables such as gender, generation, occupational area,

residential area, birth-order, and family bond? Does value similarity extend beyond the parent-child dyad to include dyads made up of grandparents and grandchildren? Do parents claim that their children are learning their values?

2. **Expectations.** Is there a similarity between the values expressed by the parent and the expectations he holds for the child. Are there differences in this similarity? Do parents claim that the expectations which they have of their children are based on their values? Do parents claim that the expectations which they have of their children are being fulfilled?
3. **Satisfaction.** Is there a difference in the levels of satisfaction that parents derive from their children and grandchildren, and the satisfaction derived from siblings, neighbors, friends, and various activities? Is the satisfaction that parents derive from their children related to changes in visiting and communication patterns, gender, generation, or birth order? Do parents report that the satisfaction which they derive from their children has changed over time? What aspects of their children do parents find satisfying? Why do parents find these aspects satisfying? Are these aspects similar to the values and expectations expressed by the parents? Are there differences in this similarity?

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Values and Value Transmission

Introduction

Throughout the course of a parent-child relationship, children receive many things from their parents. Perhaps the most salient and also the most difficult to measure, are elements such as world-views, attitudes, and values. These relate directly and indirectly, to the stance taken by an individual within society. When children follow the values of their parents and when they take the same social stance as their parents, they may, in their parent's eyes, be confirming the validity of that stance and of those values. The perception of this confirmation must bring satisfaction to the parents. Before a link can be made between value transmission and parental satisfaction, values must be defined and theories of value transmission must be described.

Definitions

Before values can be defined or described, the social context from which they flow must be identified. Values are based on cultural configurations or moral principles that make up the social philosophy of a society. Sirjamaki (1960) listed a number of these configurations which relate to family life. These configurations include:

1. Marriage is a dominating life goal for adults.
2. The choice of a marriage partner is based on personal

choice and affection.

3. The criterion for a successful marriage is the personal happiness of the partners.

4. Children should be raised in a children's world, shielded from too early involvement in adult problems.

Values which relate directly or indirectly to family life, such as freedom, love, and family support, flow from these moral principles.

Values have been defined, categorized, and itemized in different ways by different authors. Bengston (1975) defined a value as the conception of a desirable goal which serves as a guide for action and which exists on two axes. These are humanism/materialism and collectivism/individualism. Humanism includes the service of others, equality, peace in the world, and ethical living. Materialism includes financial comfort, respect for others, and an attractive appearance. The other axis, collectivism/individualism, includes collective values such as friendship, loyalty to a person's group or family, and patriotism. Values on the individualism side include an exciting life, adventure in life, achievement, and personal freedom.

Adams and Looft (1977) divided values into two classes. The first, instrumental values, reflect a conservative-traditional perspective. They are goal-directed, rational and stress the role of autonomy and individual responsibility. The second class, expressive values, stress expressiveness, intimacy, and a lack of commitment to occupation or status.

Rokeach (1973) defined a value as "an enduring belief that a

specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). He defined a value system as "an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5).

Rokeach (1973) divided values into two groups, terminal values and instrumental values. Terminal values, which can be social or personal, are end-states of existence which are worth striving for. Instrumental values, which can be moral states or competency states, are modes of conduct which a person believes to be preferable. Using this classification, all the values examined by Adams and Looft (1977) were instrumental.

Although values endure, they are not changeless. Value change will take place when an inconsistency develops between a person's values and that person's view of himself or of his world. An inconsistency of this nature can result from induced behavior, exposure to new information, or exposure to one's awareness of inconsistencies that already exist.

For the purpose of this study, the definition of values offered by Rokeach (1973) will be used. The attendant implication that behaviors are based on values will not be accepted. Thus, values will be regarded as expressions of beliefs. These beliefs may or may not

be translated into behaviors, and may or may not act as guides for behavior.

This approach to the study of values contrasts with the approach taken by Raths, Harmin, and Simon (1966) who define values as, "those elements that show how a person has decided to use his life" (p. 6). Values, according to these authors, develop out of experience and act as guides to behavior, giving direction to a person's life.

Value Transmission

Fry (1975) identified various levels of identification and found a positive correlation between these levels and levels of moral judgment. In spite of the problems that exist in her research (a major one is the lack of a clear definition of identification), her study suggests that values, which are related to moral reasoning, are not innate. In other words, values are transmitted, and they are probably transmitted through a process of identification.

Bandura (1969) defined identification as "a process in which a person patterns his thoughts, feelings, or actions after another person who serves as a model" (p. 214). Identification, as Stoke (1954) pointed out, is the source and persistent core of our higher nature. As adults, our relations with the opposite sex, our attitudes towards our children, our persistence in the traditional ways, all flow from the identifications which we make as children.

Three approaches can be used to describe and explain the identification process. These are found in psychoanalytic theory, reinforce-

ment theory, and social learning theory.

Psychoanalytic theory. Freud's concept of identification evolved over a number of years and was placed within the context of the Oedipus conflict. In essence, Freud suggested two mechanisms of identification. These were anaclitic identification or identification based on a fear of the loss of love, and defensive identification or the internalization of the punitive qualities of a threatening parent. Freud stressed and developed the latter more than the former.

Freud's first reference to identification was in 1914 in his work on the development of the ego ideal and conscience (Freud, 1959a). He pointed out that cultural and ethical ideas tend to become self-imposed standards and tend to serve as a basis for the ideals that a person sets up for himself. Conscience, which is formed through parental criticism and which is based on the parental superego, constantly watches the real ego and measures it against these ideals.

In Group psychology and the analysis of the ego, Freud (1967) suggested that identification was the mechanism involved in the resolution of the Oedipus complex. Initially, the child identifies with both parents. In the case of the boy, identification develops into a sexual object-cathexis toward his mother. However, his father stands in the way, preventing the expression of this cathexis. Therefore, identification with the father takes on a hostile tone and becomes identical with a wish to replace the father.

In Dostoevsky and parricide, written in 1928, Freud (1959b)

pointed out that a boy experiences ambivalence between feelings of admiration for his father and hostility toward his father. Both of these feelings are repressed, primarily by fears of castration. However, from a combination of these two attitudes, the boy develops an identification with his father. This identification becomes the seed for the superego. He wrote:

In spite of everything, the identification with the father finally makes a permanent place for itself in the ego. It is received into the ego but establishes itself there as a separate agency in contrast to the rest of the content of the ego. We give it the name of superego and ascribe to it, the inheritor of the parental influence, the most important functions. (Freud, 1959b, p. 23)

The primary force in the development of identification is the fear of a punitive father. As identification increases, this fear subsides and is replaced by guilt which comes from the superego and which takes its severity from the father, perpetuating the father's prohibition against incest, thus insuring the ego against a recurrence of the libidinal object-cathexis.

In The passing of the Oedipus complex, written in 1924, Freud (1959c) raised the question of female identification. Lacking a penis, a girl is not threatened by the fear of castration and thus lacks a powerful motive for forming her superego. Therefore, Freud argued, superego formation within a girl, is based on educational influences and on external intimidation which threatens her with a loss of love.

Freud (1959d) expanded on this theme in Some psychological consequences of the anatomical distinction between the sexes, written

in 1925. As a girl's wish for a penis is given up and replaced by wish to have a child, she begins to see her father as a love object. This is in conjunction with a loosening of the relationship with her mother as a love object and a transfer of her mother into an object of jealousy. Muslin developed the concept of female identification by suggesting that the desire of the girl to replace her mother is temporary, and that after this desire wanes, the girl begins to reidentify with her mother.

He wrote:

In girls the barrier to the successful union with the father is not mutilation but rather the growing awareness of the possibility of loss of love from the mother. This loss is not a minor stimulus since it evokes memory traces of abandonment and destruction, the major anxiety of infancy. (Muslin, 1972, p. 118)

Freud's teaching on identification was expanded and refined by his followers. In writing about identification with the aggressor, Anna Freud (1946) pointed out that through identification, a person can master anxiety by assimilating himself with a dreaded external object. Unlike her father, Anna Freud felt that both boys and girls engaged in this. Like her father, she related this identification to the development of the superego.

Anna Freud (1946) extended the scope of identification to include reverse identification. She pointed out that a person could mask envy by identifying with a person and with the pleasure that the person was receiving. In this situation, people will do everything in their power to enhance the pleasure of the other. This allows one person to take

an interest in the gratification that the other is receiving, and thereby to gratify his or her own instincts. Illustrating this reverse identification, she wrote:

We know that parents sometimes delegate to their children their projects for their own lives. It is as if they hoped through the child, whom they regard as better qualified for the purpose than themselves, to wrest from life the fulfillment of ambitions which they themselves have failed to realize. Perhaps even the purely altruistic relation of a mother for her son is largely determined by such a surrender of her own wishes to the object whose sex makes him better qualified to carry them out. A man's success in life does, indeed, go far to compensate the women of his family for the renunciation of their own ambitions.
(Freud, 1946, p. 143)

Biebes (1972) pointed out that parents often do this by inculcating guilt feelings in their children. Parents who use this approach are often egocentric, exploitative, and intolerant of shortcomings within their children. They tend to regard their children as their personal property.

A number of researchers have criticized the psychoanalytic approach to identification. Stoke (1954) found that fear of aggression did not play the role in the development of identification that Freud suggested. He also found that fear of the loss of love, which Freud regarded as vital in developing identification within girls, was more important than fear of aggression in the development of identification within boys. In addition, identification with the aggressor tended to foster an attitude of hostility rather than a desire to imitate (Brofenbrenner, 1962). The expression of this hostility differed

according to gender, with boys being more destructive and antisocial, while girls were more verbally aggressive (Sears, Race, & Alpert, 1965). Furthermore, fear of punishment rather than a specific fear of castration, was important in the maintenance of the ego ideal for both boys and girls. Finally, Bandura (1969) pointed out that most of the examples of identification with the aggressor which were used by Freud, could be explained by social reinforcement, defensiveness, coincidence, the need for protection, social power theory, and control over desired resources.

Problems also surround the concept of anaclitic identification. In commenting on the effects of nurturance, Bandura (1969) pointed out that modeling effects, in situations in which nurturance was used, did not generalize to other situations. Nurturance facilitated the development of identification; however, it was not a necessary element in that development. In fact, in situations in which the performance of a behavior involved a high cost to the performer, nurturance decreased identification. Identification increased if the model was both nurturant and punishing (Parke, 1969).

Nurturant fathers have sons who identify with them to a degree that is greater than with nonnurturant fathers (Bandura, 1969). However, in these cases, causality may be based on reinforcement or increased learning opportunities resulting from increased parent-child interactions, rather than on identification. Consequently, one can suggest that if the effect of nurturance on the modeling process is

questionable, the effect of anaclitic identification is also questionable.

Freud's presentation of identification can be faulted for a number of other reasons. Sears (1954) pointed out that Freud's position was culture-bound and would not apply to societies with different marriage forms, family structures, or sex roles. Stoke (1954) pointed out that the link between emotional identification and behavioral similarity was not necessary. When such a link exists, emotional identification can produce a desire for behavioral similarity. On the other hand, a lack of emotional identification will not produce such a desire. However, behavioral similarity can be produced by factors other than emotional identification. Stoke (1954) also pointed out that the existence of the Oedipus complex cannot be verified scientifically and its development is not uniform.

Freud (1959c) also taught that female identification and the female superego were weaker than male identification and the male superego. However, Sears et al. (1965) found that girls were more resistant to temptation than boys and that girls matured faster than boys. These results are not indicative of a weaker female superego or of weaker female identification.

Reinforcement theory. Reinforcement theorists argue that the mechanisms involved in the development of anaclitic identification can be explained by using concepts such as primary-, secondary-, and self-reinforcement. Parents are the primary reinforcers in the life of a child. Parental behaviors which the child learns become reinforcing

when associated with a reinforcing parent. These behaviors are secondary reinforcers and eventually become reinforcing in themselves in the absence of the parents (Mowrer, 1953).

Miller and Dollard (1941) wrote:

It is interesting to note that psychoanalytic observations seem to indicate that identification is most likely to occur with parents or other prestigious (sic) people. These people with prestige are the very ones who control the rewards and punishments which are important to the child. They are thus in the best position to give acquired reward value to conformity with their behavior, and acquired anxiety value to non-conformity with their behavior. (p. 164)

The authors pointed out that the process of identification begins with direct parental reinforcement or punishment. Later, parental behaviors become reinforcing in themselves, and then, as the identification process becomes internalized, it comes under the control of self-reinforcement. At that point, a person enjoys performing a behavior because of a belief that it is the correct thing to do.

Miller and Dollard pointed out that four conditions are necessary in order to have successful learning. These are:

1. **Drive.** There must be a strong motivation or stimulus which will impel learning. This motivation can be innate or acquired. In the case of identification, the motivation is based primarily on anxiety.

2. **Cue.** A stimulus must exist which will indicate what response is to be given, when it is to be given, and when it is correct. Cues can vary in quantity and quality.

3. **Response.** A response must take place and when the response is linked with the cue, it is said to be a product of learning. Initially, the link is formed through a process or random behavior, instruction, or observation. When the correct response is finally

made and rewarded, its frequency increases, as does the ability to determine which is the correct response and which is the incorrect response.

4. Reward. A reward is anything which reduces a drive, and a reward is only rewarding when a drive is present. A reward must be consistent or learning will not take place. Initially in the learning process, rewards are mediated by an external agent. Later, the mediation of rewards can be internal. In the case of identification, this takes place as cues of difference, indicating a lack of conformity between parental behavior and the actions of a child, acquire anxiety value, while cues of similarity acquire reward value. Through this process, a conformity of behavior develops between the learner and the model. This conformity will generalize to new, somewhat similar situations.

The approach taken by Miller and Dollard has been criticized for its emphasis on a drive state. Later reinforcement theorists, following the lead of Skinner, rejected such internalized states because these states were not measurable, and therefore were not appropriate for analysis. With the development of cognitive behaviorism, the role of internal variables, especially cognitions or mental images, has once again been opened to examination. An example of this new reinforcement approach is the one which was developed by Aronfreed (1968) who began his analysis by pointing out that two basic affective states exist and influence behavior. One state is pleasurable and the other is unpleasant or aversive. These states can be induced by stimuli or cues which exist within the environment. The affect that results from the presence of these cues is learned.

Social behavior, Aronfreed argued, is acquired, maintained, or changed by events such as the outcome of that behavior. The outcome tends to increase or reduce that probability that the behavior will be

repeated in a similar situation. However, the behavior must take place and the controlling event must be linked with it, in order for that controlling event to have an effect. In order to insure such a linkage, the time-span between the behavior and the event must be short or the behavior and the event must be linked by the person's cognitive action. Behavior can eventually become independent of external outcomes as it becomes attached to cognitive representations or intrinsic cues. When this takes place, the behavior acquires self-reinforcing properties and is said to be internalized. However, internalization does not mean freedom from environmental cues, nor does it rule out external control.

Affective states such as anxiety or pleasure can be attached to intrinsic cues such as cognitive representations of either intentions or consequences. Aronfreed (1968) argued that this ability allows the outcome to be both delayed and effective. However, Bandura (1969) reported that delayed reinforcement weakens both the ability to generalize to new situations and the maintenance of the behavior over time. This would seem to rule out a strong influence of secondary reinforcement or the attachment of a positive affective state to a cognitive representation.

In situations in which punishment is used, anxiety becomes linked or conditioned to the intrinsic behavioral or cognitive correlates of the child's performance as well as to the events which lead up to the behavior (Aronfreed, 1968). Anxiety, which is aroused by a person's intentions to perform an act, and which is based on a previous link

between the completion of the act and punishment, serves to suppress the behavior. Anxiety also serves to motivate and reinforce non-punishable behavioral alternatives in that when the nonpunishable alternative is performed, anxiety is reduced. Punishment, when used along with reinforcement for alternate behaviors, is very effective, especially when it is immediate.

The effects of positive reinforcement can be limited by competition from other reinforcers, the child's inability to perform an action, and the number of times that the act has been performed and rewarded in the past.

The reinforcement approach presented in this paper is open to a number of criticisms. First of all, many learning theorists object to the use of mentalistic variables. Secondly, reinforcement theory can account for the continuation of previously learned responses. However, it cannot explain the acquisition of new response patterns, especially when these patterns are only observed by an actor, and not rewarded or even performed during the acquisition phase.

Social learning theory. The social learning model is based on a number of assumptions. Social learning theorists acknowledge the effects of both direct experience and observation on human thought, emotion, and behavior. They recognize the human capacity to represent events, analyse experiences, and plan, communicate, and create by means of symbols. Finally, they recognize that people select, organize, and transform the stimuli that impinge upon them. By

manipulating stimuli in this way, people formulate and internalize rules for behavior which are then applied to new environmental situations.

Bandura (1977) listed four conditions that are necessary in order for social learning to take place. First of all, the subject must be motivated to attend to the model's response. The subject must then retain the response and this is facilitated by both overt and covert rehearsal. The subject must be able to reproduce the response, and finally must be motivated to do so.

Social learning is influenced by the type of model that is used. Symbolic models have less influence than live models, at least in creating a deviant response (Allen, & Liebert, 1969). In the initial stages of learning, however, symbolic and live models have an equal influence (Flanders, 1969). The influence of a model who holds stringent standards is reduced if another model holds lenient standards (Allen, & Liebert, 1969; Bandura, Grusec, & Menlove, 1967; McMains, & Liebert, 1968). Models who manifest a discrepancy between what they say and what they do have less influence than internally consistent models (Mischel, & Liebert, 1966; Rosenhan, Frederick, & Burrowes, 1968). A nurturant model has less influence than a nonnurturant model (Bandura, et al., 1967; Mischel, & Gusec, 1968). A nurturant punishing model increases the influence of punishment in inhibiting deviation (Parke, 1969). A high-status model has more influence than a low-status model; however, there is an upper limit beyond which

status reduces influence (Bandura, 1969). Gender similarity between the model and the observer enhances the influence of the model (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963).

The influence of social learning is reduced if the subject has a negative attitude toward the learning process (Patterson, Littman, & Brown, 1968). This influence is increased by a negative model-observer interaction (Redd, Morris, & Martin, 1975). The influence of social learning also increases as a child-subject increases in age (Collins, 1973).

Bandura (1969) stated that vicarious reinforcement was at least as influential as direct reinforcement. Vicarious reinforcement gives information on what behaviors will be rewarded and what cues must be responded to. It would seem reasonable, however, to suggest that there are limits to this. Few people will perform indefinitely without some kind of direct reinforcement.

Caution must be used when applying the results of studies on modeling to the identification process of a child. In most of the modeling studies, the subjects are children; however, the models are rarely their parents. In natural situations, parents are a child's first, and usually most salient models. In experimental sessions, the training period is usually short while in a child's natural environment, the training is ongoing.

Caution must also be used when attempting to apply modeling research to the transmission of values. The research results, however,

suggest a number of factors that could influence this transmission. These include the characteristics of the model and the subject, as well as the characteristic of the material being transmitted.

Conclusion

This review of the theories of identification leaves a number of questions unanswered. As indicated earlier, Fry (1975) established a relationship between levels of identification and levels of moral judgment. It is reasonable to argue that values are a part of moral judgments and that value transmission may be related to identification. In spite of the fact that this is only an assumption, identification remains the best explanation of the process whereby values are transmitted from a parent to a child.

The three approaches to identification that were discussed, deal with behavioral similarity and not specifically with value conformity. While it is reasonable to argue that, to some degree at least, behavioral similarity indicates a similarity in disposition, the relationship is weak. In fact, one can exist without the other and the establishment of the mode of transmission for one does not automatically establish it for the other. This leaves the means of value transmission open to research and this question will be asked of the parents in the study.

Identification is influenced by a large number of factors. Among these are social factors which pressure a child to identify with his or her own sex, the degree to which the child's needs are satisfied, the

degree of familiarity with the model, the clarity of roles, the attitudes of influential people toward the model, the ability and capacity of the child to be like the model, the degree of the child's dependence, the temperament of the child, temperamental differences between the child and the model, fear, and perhaps, the degree of parental affection or nurturance which is given to the child. It is rather difficult to establish which factor has a major role and which has a minor one.

Variables Reflecting Value Change

Introduction

Value patterns are rarely uniform, even within a specific society or within a specific family group. Differences in value patterns have been found in generational, gender, and class studies. A brief survey of this research will be found in the following pages. However, several points must be considered before presenting this review.

Most of the studies that are quoted in this review, examine value differences by comparing average scores on specific values rather than by obtaining correlations between individuals or groups on specific patterns of values. Differences in values can be found by using the former method. However, this method does not allow estimates of similarity in value patterns to be made.

Most of the authors of these studies claim that they are examining differences in values; however, it is unclear if they are referring to expressed values or to lived values. Most of the authors fail to

examine differences between what a person says is important and that person's actual behavior. For example, the desire for social approval may compel a thief to rate honesty as an important value in a value survey. In reality, honesty may be very unimportant in his life or he may have changed the definition of the word to a meaning not intended by the author of the survey.

Finally, some authors incorrectly use the existence of a relationship between value differences and variable differences as a basis for a claim of causality. In this review, value differences will be reported but claims of causality will be ignored.

Generational Differences

Youmans (1973) compared urban and rural samples of elderly and younger people on authoritarianism, dependency, achievement, religious fervor and anomie. He found lower scores on authoritarianism, dependency, religious fervor, and anomie among the younger people, and this was the case for respondents living in both urban and rural areas. Among the rural subjects, a minimal amount of stress was placed on the need for achievement, and this was true of both older and younger subjects. Among the urban subjects, the elderly placed a greater stress on this value.

Bengston (1973) placed values on two poles, humanism/materialism and collectivism/individualism. He found that both the young and the elderly stressed humanistic values such as service to others, equality, world peace, and ethical living. The middle-aged

group stressed materialistic values such as financial comfort, respect for others, and an attractive appearance. Intergenerational differences, however, were small. Bengston also found that with an increase in age, collective values increased in importance while individualistic values decreased in importance.

Christenson (1977) used a division of social and personal values and found that the most important social value for all age groups was honesty and most important personal value was freedom. Age-related differences were also present. The young placed more emphasis on values relating to work, leisure, achievement, and equality, than the elderly. The differences on these values were significant. The young also placed more importance on freedom and individualism but, with these values, the differences were less. Social values, except for equality, were more important to the elderly than to the young.

Feather (1977), using an Australian sample and Rokeach's value scales, found that family security, self-respect, politeness, and cleanliness increased in importance with age while an exciting life, freedom, imaginativeness, and broadmindedness decreased in importance.

Antonucci (1974) pointed out that the relationship between age and differences in values can be mediated by other variables such as changes in status, roles, and function. He also pointed out that life-adjustment is enhanced when people's values correspond to their life position. That is, work-related values such as ambition and a sense

of accomplishment, should decrease after retirement. If such a decrease does not take place, adjustment to retirement may be difficult.

These studies indicate that different value patterns can be found if a study is made of value patterns in different generations. The nature of these differences in value patterns cannot be established because of differences in the definitions and scales used by the various authors.

In opening this section, it was pointed out that many authors fail to distinguish lived and expressed values. They assume that a rating on a value scale reflects the actual disposition of the respondent. This assumption can be wrong. Perhaps a more accurate representation of people's evaluations can be found in the way in which they describe others. For example, if an elderly male describes an elderly male in a picture as understanding and compassionate, he is likely giving such a description because, as an elderly male, he values understanding and compassion.

Neugarten and Guttman (1958) used the Thematic Apperception Test to study perceptions of middle-aged and elderly people. While these perceptions were not related to values, one can suggest that such a relationship is possible. The authors found that as the age of the male respondents increased, the old man was seen as increasingly passive and the young man was seen as aggressive, active, and orientated towards the outer world. The younger women saw the young woman as controlled by her parents while the older women saw the older woman as self-righteously assertive.

From these observations, one can suggest that older men value passivity while younger men value action. Younger women rate either dependency or freedom as important while older women rate the assertion of their rights as important.

This highly speculative approach to the study of value similarity could be confirmed by making a comparison between T.A.T. responses, rank ordering or scaled responses, and a measure of actual behavior.

Gender Differences

Seeley, Sim, and Loosley (1960) found that women stressed personal happiness and the well-being of the individual, while men stressed the importance of the group. Rokeach (1973) found that men ranked comfortable life, imaginativeness, exciting life, sense of accomplishment, freedom, pleasure, social recognition, ambition, capability, imagination, and logic higher than women. Women ranked world peace, happiness, inner harmony, salvation, self-respect, wisdom, cheerfulness, cleanliness, and loving higher than men. Rokeach also found that women had more stable value systems than men.

Musgrave and Reid (1971) used a Scottish sample and found differences in the role models chosen by boys and girls. Boys chose more aggressive models while girls chose more passive and socially interactive models. They also found that girls scored higher on achievement values than boys. On the other hand, Berens (1972), using an American sample, found that boys scored higher on achievement values than girls. In both studies, the differences were

small.

The results of these studies indicate that gender-based differences in value patterns exist even though they are not extensive (Christensen, 1977; Rokeach, 1973).

Class Differences

Kohn (1976) stated that, "social class is significant for human behavior because it embodies systematically differentiated conditions of life that profoundly affect men's view of social reality" (p. 539). This statement implies that differences in social class should reflect major differences in values.

Kohn (1959) examined the values that parents desired to see in their children's lives. He found differences in both values and in the definitions that people had of these values. For example, while honesty was ranked as the most important value by parents in both classes, middle-class parents saw honesty as a standard of conduct, related to values such as consideration, manners, dependability, self-control, and neatness. Among these parents, honesty was inversely related to popularity. Within the lower-class, honesty was related to qualities of the person such as happiness, popularity, and defending oneself. With an increase in maternal status, Kohn found an increase in the probability that the mother would choose consideration, curiosity, self-control, and happiness as highly desirable characteristics for her children. Conversely, with a decrease in maternal class, the probability of the mother stressing obedience, neatness,

and cleanliness increased. These observations indicated a tendency, on the part of middle-class parents, to stress values which reflected internal standards of behavior. Lower-class parents stressed values which reflected behavioral conformity and an external orientation (Kohn, 1969). However, lower-class mothers who had a middle-class occupation or who had at least a high school education, tended to have values that were very close to middle-class values.

Middle-class men were more concerned about occupations which were interesting, stimulating, and which allowed self-expression. Lower-class men were more concerned about the external characteristics of an occupation such as wages, fringe benefits, and hours of work. They were more rigid in their view of human nature and social institutions, less tolerant of nonconformity, more likely to feel that personal morality meant obedience to the law, and more distrustful of change. Middle-class men were more likely to stress the need of a sense of control over their lives.

Rokeach (1973) found a decrease in the importance of cleanliness and a comfortable life, as social class increased. Among the lower class, a higher ranking was given to values such as salvation, friendship, cheerfulness, forgiveness, helpfulness, politeness, and obedience. A lower ranking was given to values such as a sense of accomplishment, family security, inner harmony, mature love, wisdom, capability, imagination, intellectual capacity, and logic. In general, Rokeach (1973) suggested that the lower class was more

religious, other-directed, and conforming to traditional values. They were less self-directed, and less concerned with responsibility, family security and self-actualization.

Christenson (1977) used income as an indicator of class and found that differences in social class were related to differences in social values. The importance of social values decreased with a decrease in social class.

Class differences are related to differences in values. This relationship may be explained by differences in both the salience and the probability of specific events within a specific class. Middle-class parents may take a specific value for granted and may not stress it. However, that value might be regarded by parents in the lower class as very important and one which must be instilled within children. Consequently they would stress it.

Conclusion

Due to a lack of common definitions and common instruments, it is difficult to draw valid conclusions from this review beyond noting that value differences exist and are related to generational, gender, and class differences. The existence of these relationships allows an observer to suggest that similarity in value patterns will decrease across generations, genders, or social classes as compared to within a specific generation, gender, or social class.

Value Similarity Within the Family

Introduction

Most studies examining intrafamily value patterns are based on samples composed of college students and their parents. It is possible that these are really studies of a specific type of family, one in which the relationships between parents and children are strong. Most of these studies report value similarity but do not establish value transmission.

Patterns of Value Similarity

Bengston (1975) found that intrafamily value similarity was strongest in dyads made up of members from adjacent generations. Dyads consisting of grandparents and parents showed the greatest similarity while dyads consisting of grandparents and grandchildren showed the least. Antonucci, Gillett, and Hoyer (1979) used a sample composed of three generation families and found that the greatest intergenerational similarity was in terminal values.

Aldous and Hill (1964-65) found that, with some values, gender similarity was related to value similarity. For example, religious similarity was strongest when the comparison was made between two women in a family and weakest when the comparison was made between two men. Occupational similarity was strongest when the comparison was made between two men (Little, 1967; Werts, 1968). Intergenerational similarity was reflected in values such as leisure and friendship regardless of the gender composition of the dyad.

Rose (1964) examined the relationship between changes in class, family size, ordinal position, and mother's age, and changes in the importance of achievement. He argued that a child's need for love and protection was a major factor affecting value transmission. He then hypothesized that value transmission between a parent and a child should be greatest in dyads composed of young parents and first-born children. While this study can be criticized for not establishing value transmission, the results can be applied to value similarity. The author found that mother-child similarity in the value of achievement correlated positively with early independence training and with the use of love-withdrawal sanctions. Similarity also increased with social class, decreased with family size, and was greatest in dyads involving the oldest son, but this was true only of the middle-class. This study demonstrated the importance of nurturance in value similarity and indicated that social learning studies which use nonparental models and which find that nurturance does not enhance the effectiveness of modeling or identification, are of limited value.

Value similarity may also be related to the strength of the bond both within the family and between the members of the dyad being examined. Bott (1960) stated, "In a loose-knit network, fewer members know one another and there is less interaction. More variation in norms is likely to develop. There will be fewer norms of common consent and more variation in social norms from one member of the network to another" (p. 450). The relationship between family

bond and norms may also exist for family bond and values.

While there is an indication that at least some values which are held by a child are similar to the values of the parents, a number of factors seem to be related to the degree of similarity. The two most important are, first of all, the nature of the value in question, and secondly, the factors relating to the dyad itself or to the environment in which the dyad exists. Few studies have actually examined this similarity by obtaining a correlation coefficient that shows the similarity between the value pattern of the parent and the value pattern of the child. Troll, Neugarten, and Kraines (1969) undertook such a study and obtained correlations that ranged from .58 to -.17. The highest correlation was found in a mother-son dyad while the lowest was in a father-daughter dyad. From these results, an observer may conclude that intrafamily value similarity is not very strong.

Studies of the transmission of values within families have a number of weaknesses. They rely on samples that are composed of strong parent-child dyads. This means that similarity between parents and children who do not get along with each other is not examined. Secondly, most transmission studies fail to actually establish transmission. They are really studies of similarity. Finally, the results that are obtained are far from impressive.

Parental Expectations

Introduction

The translation of parental values into parental expectations has not been subjected to an empirical study. Parental expectations, however, have been subjected to both empirical and clinical examinations.

An examination of expectations can begin by distinguishing expectations from aspirations. Marotz-Baden and Tallman (1978) defined aspirations as ideal goals, and expectations as realistic goals or expected attainments. Using this distinction, they found that discrepancies existed between the aspirations and the expectations that parents had of their children. This discrepancy was greater in the middle class than in the lower class.

The study of Marotz-Baden and Tallman is important, not because of the results that they obtained, but because of the distinctions that they made. The distinction between the aspirations and expectations becomes meaningful and important when these two concepts are used as two extremes on a continuum which ranges from idealistic to realistic. A parental goal, which can be called a parental expectation or an aspiration that a parent has for a child, can fall anywhere along that continuum. In this study any goal set by a parent for a child will be called a parental expectation.

Expectations Related to Occupations and Achievement

Most studies on parental expectations focus on expectations of

academic success and occupational goals. In many of these studies, the relationship between maternal occupation and children's achievements is examined. Banducci (1967) found that working mothers expected their children to go to college. However, Baruch (1972) and Grebow (1973) obtained results showing that the conclusions stated by Banducci (1967) had to be qualified, at least as far as girls were concerned. Baruch (1972) found that female students tended to favor a dual female role when their mother endorsed such a role and was successful at maintaining it. Grebow (1973) found that the value which girls placed on achievement was related to paternal encouragement and the paternal attitude was related to the father's educational level. If parental encouragement implies a parental expectation, and realistically, few parents will encourage their children to do something that they do not expect them to do, these studies allow one to conclude that many parents expect their children to obtain an education.

Cohen (1965) found that a relationship existed between changes in social class and changes in achievement values. He also found that, since World War II, gender differences in this relationship were decreasing. Among working-class children, college aspirations and upward mobility increased if the paternal occupation had high working-class status, if the maternal occupation had high status, or if there was maternal downward social mobility.

The ability of a child to meet the expectations of its parents has important consequences for both the child and the parents. Wittek (1973)

studied the relationship between gifted children and their parents, and found that gifted children reported their successes to their parents, and perceived both parental approval for their success and parental pride in their accomplishments. These children were also aware that their success was a topic of parental bragging. Failure was met with parental disapproval and was consequently avoided. Love (1972) observed that parents of a gifted child tended to satisfy their own unfulfilled needs and desires by exploiting the child, making the child feel that their lives as parents were being fulfilled by everything that the child did. These observations can be applied to some degree at least, to most parent-child relationships (Smith, Zingale, & Coleman, 1978; Teichman, Gollnitz, & Gohler, 1976).

Behavioral Expectations

Parents have expectations that also focus on the behavior of their children. Small, Biller, and Prochaska (1975) found that fathers of adolescent sons expected their sons to be dominating and enduring. Hess and Handel (1959), in a descriptive study of several families from different classes, found that parents expected their sons to be independent and self-initiating. Other parental expectations involved rationality, self-discipline, responsibility, and being engaged in productive activity.

Hess and Handel (1959) also found class differences in parental expectations. The middle-class father expected his children to be happy, self-controlled, fair, and honest. He expected them to avoid

selfishness, conflicts, and aggression. He also encouraged college attendance but occupational decisions were left to the child.

The lower middle-class father also expected his children to be happy. In addition, they were expected to be good citizens, obedient, conforming, and sources of security for their families. For the boys, this translated into being honest, helpful, popular, and living clean, moral lives. They were expected to enjoy the simple things of life and not to be too ambitious. Girls were expected to be happy, industrious, and popular. Adult directed aggression was forbidden and all forms of correction were accompanied by an explanation of both the rules and the consequences.

The expectations of the working-class family were generally unclear even though there was a demand of conformity to parental expectations. Maternal expectations were the clearest and tended to focus on achievement and independence. The achievement expectations, however, were unrealistic.

The importance of this study is found in the range of expectations that the authors identified. While empirically based conclusions cannot be drawn from this work, the descriptions that were presented allow one to glimpse and appreciate the differences in parental expectations.

Kerckhoff (1966) examined parental expectations and the relationship between these expectations and family types. He found that parents in extended families, a family type which is more likely to be found in

blue-collar, working-class, or rural areas, expected their children to live close to them. They also expected considerable aid and affection. Parents in nucleated families, a family type which is more likely to be found in white-collar, middle-class areas, tended to reject residential closeness and obligations of aid.

Seelbach and Lamar (1977) found that elderly black women expected to live with their children and expected financial aid from them. The expectation of financial aid, however, is not general among the elderly. Seelbach (1978) included residential proximity, care in times of illness, communication, and respect, as general expectations that elderly parents have of their children.

Maternal expectations tend to be greater than paternal expectations and parental expectations tend to increase as parents get older. Parents with high expectations of their children often have lower morale which could be caused by a greater degree of unfulfilled expectations (Seelback, & Saver, 1977).

Aldrich (1971) suggested that parental expectations have an effect on a child's behavior that is similar to a self-fulfilling prophecy. In effect, the child's behavior is invited by parental expectations.

Johnson and Szurek (1952) pointed out that, "parents may find vicarious gratification of their own poorly integrated forbidden impulses in the acting out of the child, through their unconscious permissiveness or inconsistency toward the child in these spheres of behavior" (p. 334). Later, they added, "the fantasies, hopes and fears expressed

by parents regarding some behavior of a child is a common and powerful influence toward healthy or maladaptive living" (Johnson, & Szurek, 1952, p. 336). A conscious parental expectation of trouble can result in the child's loss of confidence in his ability to restrain an impulse that his parents are constantly expecting to see in him.

Conclusion

In general, parental expectations focus upon what a child achieves and upon how a child lives. These expectations seem to change as a parent gets older. They may also change when parents in different classes and genders are examined. Failure to fulfill parental expectations is often associated with negative consequences for both the child and the parent. This failure has been linked to a loss of self-esteem in the child (Smith, et al., 1978) and to a deterioration in family life (Teichman, et al., 1976).

Satisfaction

Introduction

Satisfaction can be defined as "a perceived state of mind that reflects relative contentment and freedom from anxiety and is reportable, qualitatively, by respondents" (Henley, & Davis, 1967, p. 67). Satisfaction is based on reactions to a broad range of inner and environmental pressures. It is not a natural or a lifetime disposition and a person can be differentially satisfied in different spheres of life. Satisfaction implies the use of cognitive judgments which are made about a current situation and which are based on external standards of

comparison or on private levels of aspiration. Levels of satisfaction are influenced by "a perceived discrepancy between aspirations and achievements, ranging from the perception of fulfillment to that of deprivation" (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976, p. 8).

In general, people report that they are satisfied with life (Campbell, et al., 1976; Andrews, & Withey, 1976). However, a number of specific factors are correlated with satisfaction. These include income, occupation, education, social class, residential location, gender, age, health, and social integration. In many cases, the relationship between these variables and life-satisfaction is both direct and indirect.

Variables Related to Changes in Life-Satisfaction

Income. Campbell, et al., (1976) using figures from the early 1970's, found that income levels below \$7,000.00 a year were negatively correlated with life-satisfaction. Income levels above that figure were positively correlated, with a sharp rise taking place at the \$12,000.00 level. The relationship between income and life-satisfaction has been established by other authors as well (Andrews, & Withey, 1976; Spreitzer, & Snyder, 1974; Stewart, 1976).

Adams (1971), in a review of the literature on the life-satisfaction of the elderly, listed a number of correlates which can be viewed as indirect effects of income, and which were positively correlated with life-satisfaction. These included the continuity of a person's life style, the retention of a person's pattern of living, the

maintenance of an expansive social life-space, and the maintenance of social relations.

Gender. There is some evidence that women have higher satisfaction levels than men (Campbell, et al., 1976). The differences, however, are not large and are inconsistent. In fact, some studies have failed to find differences (Neugarten, Havighurst, & Tobin, 1961; Clemente, & Sauer, 1976. When gender differences were found, they tended to exist across most stages of the life-cycle. However, the levels of satisfaction varied in each stage. After the age of 65, gender differences vanish (Spreitzer, & Snyder, 1974. This may be due to a post-retirement role change and to differences between men who live past the age of 65 and those who die before the age of 65.

Gender differences also existed in variables related to life-satisfaction. For men, the most important correlates of life-satisfaction were self-related health, organizational activity, friendship, and employment (Palmore, & Liubart, 1972). For women, the important correlates were self-rated health, organizational activity, and a sense of internal control.

Social class. Stewart (1976) found a positive correlation between social class and life-satisfaction; however, Palmore and Liukart (1972) found that this was true only of younger respondents, and Neugarten, et al., (1961), found that the correlation between social class and the life-satisfaction of respondents over the age of 50 was

very small.

Education. The relationship between education and life-satisfaction has been examined from two perspectives. Campbell, et al., (1976) found a slight positive correlation between life-satisfaction and a person's satisfaction with his level of education. However, they also found that the relationship between life-satisfaction and actual levels of education was unclear. In most cases, the relationship was positive but the pattern was not even. For example, among respondents with an incomplete college education, there was a large drop in the level of life-satisfaction. Adams (1971) and Markides and Martin (1979) both reported that the relationship between education levels and life-satisfaction was positive.

Employment. Riley and Foner (1968) found that high life-satisfaction was more common among employed males than among retired males. However, Campbell, et al., (1976) pointed out that employment was not as important a variable as job-satisfaction. People who expressed high levels of satisfaction with their jobs also tended to report high levels of life-satisfaction.

Atchley (1972) pointed out that leisure activities can fill the time left vacant by retirement. However, leisure activities may not be able to produce the levels of satisfaction or self-respect that a person

derived from a job. They may be a source of satisfaction if the person can afford to pursue the activities that he desires. They may not be a source of satisfaction if the person's friends do not accept full-time leisure as legitimate and if the opinions of his friends are important to his self-concept.

Satisfaction from leisure activities is also related to satisfaction derived from leisure activities earlier in life. In other words, if a person was not able to derive satisfaction from leisure activities before the age of 45, it is unlikely that he will be able to do so after retirement.

Age. Neugarten, et al., (1961) and Rosow (1967) failed to find a relationship between age and life-satisfaction. However, Clemente and Sauer (1976) found a slight relationship in that older people tended to be more satisfied with life. Adams (1971) suggested that the salient factor may not be age as such, but the perception of one's self as old and the perception of one's life-space as contracting.

Campbell, et al., (1976) reported that, while life-satisfaction tended to increase with age, happiness decreased. They pointed out that this decrease could not be explained by adaptation and a consequent loss in the importance of formerly happy events. They suggested that "the young may be happier exactly because they are hopeful, while their very hopefulness for the future leads them to more critical or distasteful evaluations of their current situations" (Campbell, et al., 1976, p. 168). As people get older, the gap between expectations and

realizations decreases. Andrews and Withey (1976) suggested that a lowering of standards and aspirations takes place as a person gets older and this may also contribute to an increase in satisfaction.

Palmore and Liukart (1972) found age differences in variables that were related to life-satisfaction. Self-rated health, organizational activities, income, and performance status were important sources of life-satisfaction for people between the ages of 46 and 59. Self-rated health, a sense of internal control, and organization activity were important for people between the ages of 60 and 71.

Age differences in life-satisfaction are usually examined using cross-sectional samples. Palmore and Kivett (1977) used a longitudinal study and failed to find any age-related differences.

Health. Clemente and Sauer (1976) and Markides and Martin (1979) found a strong positive correlation between health and life-satisfaction. Adams (1971) suggested that the perception of a person's health as good had a higher correlation with life-satisfaction than good health itself. Palmore and Liubart (1972) confirmed this, and found no gender or age differences which would qualify their conclusions. However, Riley and Foner (1968), and later, Medley (1976) found that the correlation between health and life-satisfaction was greater for males than for females. Andrews and Withey (1976) reported that this relationship did not begin until the person reached his mid-forties.

The negative correlation between ill health and life-satisfaction can be mitigated by a sense of resignation and by an acceptance of

infirmities. Campbell, et al., (1976) claimed that this may explain why people can report both poor health and high levels of life-satisfaction.

Residential location. Campbell, et al., (1976) reported an increase in life-satisfaction as a person moved away from large metropolitan areas.

Social interaction. Tobin and Neugarten (1961) found that social interaction was positively related to life-satisfaction and, as age increased, the strength of this relationship increased. However, it is not social interaction as such that has this relationship. The important elements are the quality and the meaning of that interaction (Conner, Powers, & Bultena, 1979). Undifferentiated recording of negative and positive interactions may explain why some authors found that the relationship between social interaction and life-satisfaction was weak (Edwards, & Klemmack, 1973; Palmore, & Kivett, 1977).

Family Influences on Life-satisfaction

In general, people tend to report that they are satisfied with their marriages and with their family life (Andrews, & Withey, 1976), although this applies to men more than to women (Campbell, et al., 1976). The trend towards positive reporting is evident even when people express dissatisfaction with other areas of life. A number of reasons can be advanced to explain this trend. First of all, divorce terminates many distressed marriages. Secondly, people may tend to

be positive in order to reassure themselves, using denial as a means of coping with dissatisfaction. Thirdly, people may be reluctant to disparage their family in front of a stranger. Finally, many people may be satisfied with their marriages and with their families. Andrews and Withey (1976) suggested that researchers compensate for this tendency by increasing the importance of reports of qualified or partial satisfaction.

Marital satisfaction is not related to childhood experiences, such as parental divorce, or factors of upbringing, such as going to church (Campbell, et al., 1976). However, there is a tendency for a person to be less positive about his marriage if he feels that he has a less than average closeness to his parents.

Marital satisfaction is related to age. However, this relationship seems to be based on the stage of marriage rather than on the age of the respondents. Rollins and his associates have examined changes in marital satisfaction that occurred over the various stages of a marriage. Rollins and Cannon (1974) reported that satisfaction was initially high, but declined with the birth of the first child and increased after the children left home. The increase ceased at retirement. The authors pointed out that the actual changes in the satisfaction scores were small.

A picture of confusion is found when the relationship between life-satisfaction and family life is examined. The relationship between family life and life-satisfaction of the elderly has been termed minimal

(Edwards, & Klemmack, 1973), weak (Clemente, & Sauver, 1976), and significant (Medley, 1976). The studies which found weak correlations tended to use frequency of contact as the measure of the quality of family life.

Neugarten, et al., (1961) found that marital status was related to life-satisfaction. The respondents who were married tended to be more satisfied than those who were not. This indicates that life-satisfaction is correlated with both the fact of marriage and satisfaction with that marriage.

Sibling relationships can be the longest and most egalitarian of all relationships. There is some evidence that sibling relationships intensify when a child leaves home but it is unclear if these relationships continue to increase with age (Cicirelli, 1980). However, measures of closeness, affection, value consensus, and commitment all indicate that sibling relations tend to remain strong. Sibling relations are strongest between sisters and within the working-class (Cicirelli, 1980). Cicirelli (1977) also found that the number of female siblings that a person had was related to both the feelings and the concerns of that person. If it was a woman, an increase in the number of sisters correlated with an increase in feelings of loss and exploitation. This implies that relationships between sisters are characterized by negative feelings as well as by positive feelings, resulting in both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Contact between brothers tended to decrease with age and this should result in a

decrease in both the satisfaction and dissatisfaction derived from a man's relationship with his brother.

The number of children within a family is negatively correlated with marital satisfaction (Campbell, et al., 1976). However, Renne (1970) pointed out that it was not the number of children that was correlated with marital satisfaction. Rather, it was the presence of children and the existence of problematic parent-child relationships. Luckey and Bain (1970) found that parents who listed children as their only source of satisfaction tended to be less satisfied with life than parents who listed other sources as well. Perhaps a total parental focus on children habituates the parents to the positive aspects of their children and exacerbates the negative. Lacking other outlets, negative feelings and dissatisfaction increase. Both satisfied and dissatisfied parents listed children as their most important source of satisfaction. These conclusions tend to cast doubt upon the results obtained by Renne (1970), and other studies add to that doubt. Campbell, et al., (1976) found that very few parents wished to be free of the burdens of parenthood. In fact, they reported that parents found parenting enjoyable.

Most of the elderly maintain contact with their children. Contact is more frequent with daughters, in larger families, with younger children, with mothers, and in the middle class (Riley, & Foner, 1968). In fact, contacts between the elderly and their children are more frequent than between the elderly and their neighbors (Rosow, 1967).

Contact between elderly parents and their children can be impaired by generational differences, constraints on the sharing and helping process, and other important demands which are placed on a middle-aged child. On the other hand, this relationship is enhanced by a similarity in values, role modeling, and the existence of respect and trust in the relationship. If the relationship between elderly parents and their children is not satisfactory, it can be reduced to a state of meaninglessness, with the elders becoming insignificant in the lives of their children (Cox, 1970).

Aged parents feel as satisfied with their parental role as younger parents, but they are more concerned about physical and material care than about interpersonal matters (Riley, & Foner, 1968). Older parents speak of their adult children with fondness, appreciating and even exaggerating their accomplishments and possessions, speaking of these openly and boastfully. Parents often share with their own parents the burden of being parents just as many parents fulfill, through their adult children, the need to procreate and teach the younger generation (Puner, 1974).

For many of the elderly, their grandchildren are young adults with their own children. As the intergenerational gap increases, one can expect that the relationships between generations will become more distant. However, in spite of the widening generational gap, Wood and Robertson (1978) found that involvement with grandchildren was more important for the morale of the elderly than involvement

with either friends or organizations.

Troll (1980) listed a number of features which characterize the relationships of grandparents and grandchildren. Over three-quarters of all people over the age of 65 who have grandchildren, see them at least once every two weeks, and one-half see them more than twice a week. Intentional grandparent-grandchild visits occur weekly for about a third of the grandparents. Thus the contact between grandparents and grandchildren is frequent. Grandparents between the ages of 50 and 70 tend to be more positive about their grandchildren than grandparents under the age of 50 or over the age of 70. Older grandparents can find young grandchildren trying, and adolescent grandchildren disappointing. Grandchildren are close to grandparents before the age of 10. After that age, the relationship becomes strained; however, it improves when the grandchild becomes a young adult.

Grandmother-granddaughter relations remain strong but grandfather-grandson relations do not (Atchley, 1972). Troll (1980) suggested that this strong female family linkage could be based on innate gender differences in affiliative tendencies, but she also pointed out that this has not been substantiated.

Neugarten and Weinstein (1968) examined the rewards of grandparenting and found that grandparenting was rewarding for a number of reasons and these reasons often revealed gender differences. In a study of 70 grandparents, they obtained the following results:

	GRANDMOTHER (n=70)	GRANDFATHER (n=70)
1. Grandchildren provide biological renewal or continuity into the future	29	16
2. Grandchildren give a chance to succeed in a new emotional role	13	19
3. Grandchildren provide a new role as a resource person	3	8
4. Grandchildren provide vicarious satisfaction	3	3
5. Grandparents felt alienated from their grandchildren	19	20

Thus, 29 out of 70 grandmothers regarded biological renewal as the most rewarding aspect of grandparenting. Only 16 out of 70 grandfathers gave that answer. This difference could be due to the fact that most of the grandchildren were born to daughters of the elderly couples. Had an equal number of sons been included, it is likely that the results from the grandfathers would have been different. A high percentage of both grandfathers and grandmothers expressed some dissatisfaction with the grandparent role. This may have been due to grandparent-parent conflicts.

A "new role" was important to more grandfathers than grandmothers. In fact, the possibility of succeeding as a grandfather was the most important aspect of grandparenting for grandfathers.

Vicarious satisfaction was regarded as most important by a very small number of respondents. This does not mean that it was unimportant for the others.

Conclusion

The results and conclusions reported by the authors of these studies allow an observer to argue that variables such as social interaction, occupation, health, family life, and so forth, are related to life-satisfaction and may be important sources of life-satisfaction. Some authors have also reported differences in sources of satisfaction when people of different ages and genders were examined. This suggests that differences in the amount of satisfaction derived from occupations, various aspects of family life and social interaction, and various recreational activities, may also be found when individuals in different social classes, genders, age groups, and residential locations are examined.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Respondents

In order to answer the questions which were raised in the last chapter, 58 individuals making up 18 family groups were examined. Twelve of the family groups were made up of three generations, a great-grandparent, a grandparent, and a parent. Of the remaining family groups, five contained a fourth-generation adolescent between the ages of 14 and 19. One family group was made up of a great-grandparent and a parent. In this family group, the grandfather refused to participate but his refusal came after the information on the other two generations was collected. The information from this family was included in the study.

The 18 family groups that made up the sample were recruited through various church newsletters and by word of mouth. Selection was based on the following criteria:

1. Each family group was composed of one parent from each of three generations for a total of three individuals.
2. Each family group contained at least two parent-child dyads.
3. Each member of the family group was available and willing to participate in the study.
4. Individuals could be presently married or divorced.

When a family was identified, a great-grandparent was chosen and contacted by the author, relying upon information from either a

member of the family or from someone familiar with the family. If the great-grandparent was willing to participate, he/she was asked to select and contact one of their children who was a grandparent, who was willing to participate in the study, and who was also available. The grandparents were then asked to select and contact one of their children who was a parent of a school-aged child, who was willing to participate, and who was available for the study.

In this study, the first-generation great-grandparents will be referred to as the great-grandparents. Their children will be referred to as the second-generation grandparents. The grandchildren of the great-grandparents will be referred to as the third-generation parents. These were the parents of the school-aged children.

The study was based on a group of 18 great-grandparents, 17 grandparents, 18 parents, and five children; 18 family groups. Tables 1 and 2 show the gender composition of each generation and the gender composition of each group of intergenerational dyads. Eight of the family groups in this study were composed entirely of women, but there were no family groups that were composed entirely of men.

TABLE 1
INTERGENERATIONAL GENDER DIFFERENCES

Generation	Male	Female	Total
1	4	14	18
2	5	12	17
3	5	13	18
4	2	3	5
Total	16	42	58

TABLE 2
GENDER COMPOSITION OF INTERGENERATIONAL DYADS

Inter-generational Dyad	Gender Composition					Total
	Male- male	Male- female	Female- male	Female- female		
Parent-child	2	10	10	17	39	
Grandparent- grandchild	3	3	4	13	23	
Great Grandparent- great grandchild	2	1		2	5	
Total	7	14	14	32	67	

The respondents also lived close to their families. In 32 out of the 39 parent-child dyads, the parents and children were not living together. In only eight of these dyads were the parents and children separated by more than 50 miles. In three of these latter dyads, the child was a man, and in five cases the child was a woman. This indicates that most of the second- and third-generation participants lived close to their parents. This was an effect of sampling, in that limits were placed on the distance that would be travelled in order to interview a person.

Table 3 shows where the respondents were raised and where they lived most of their adult lives. The information is arranged according to generation.

TABLE 3
PLACE OF ORIGIN AND ADULT RESIDENCE
BY GENERATION

Generation	Raised as a Child				Lived as an Adult			
	Farm	Village	Town	City	Farm	Village	Town	City
1	13	3	3		13	2	1	2
2	11	1	3	2	7		1	9
3	8			7	3	1		14
4				5				
Total	32	4	6	14	23	3	2	25

The ages of the first-generation respondents ranged from 71 to 95 years, the second-generation respondents ranged from 47 to 65 years of age, the third-generation respondents ranged from 25 to 46 years of age, and the fourth-generation respondents ranged from 14 to 19 years of age.

The marital status of the respondents is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
MARITAL STATUS BY GENERATION

Generation	Marital Status			
	Widow	Widower	Divorced	Married
1	8	2		8
2	2		1	14
3			3	15
Total	10	2	4	37

This table shows two additional and important characteristics of the sample. First, just under half of the respondents in the first-generation were still married to their original spouses. Second, the divorce rate of the entire group was very low. This can be explained by the fact that almost two-thirds of the families involved in the study were either Mormon or Catholic. The low divorce rate can also be explained by the high degree of family cohesiveness which existed in these family groups.

Half of the families that were contacted participated in the study. In some cases, families were dropped from the study because necessary members were not available. In most cases, families were dropped because they refused to participate. That is, one member could not convince other members to take part. This may indicate a weaker family bond within those families that did not participate.

The area from which the families came was extensive. One family came from each of the following areas: Provost, Redwater, Fort Saskatchewan, Sylvan Lake, and Lac La Biche. Two families were from Hobbema and two from Cardston. Four were from Edmonton and five were from Calgary.

Conclusion

The composition of the sample indicates that the results of this analysis has very low external validity and cannot be generalized beyond the individuals examined in the present study. The responding families were not randomly chosen, they volunteered. Most of the

respondents were women, most were from one of two religious traditions, most displayed a high degree of longevity, and most lived in families united by a strong family bond. These factors made the responding families a unique group. These limitations do not negate either the importance of this study as a descriptive study or the internal validity of the study.

Materials

Biographic Questionnaire

The first page of the questionnaire, which appears in Appendix I, explores biographical data such as gender, religion, occupation, education, residential proximity, generation, birth-order, and place of residence.

Occupational areas were identified and this will be used as a variable in this study. This category cannot be substituted for social class.

Urban-rural distinctions were based on population figures. For example, a farmer was defined as a person not residing in a village, town, or city, and deriving most of his income from agriculture. A person residing in a community with a population which was less than 2,000, was defined as residing in a village. If the population of the community was over 2,000 and under 10,000, the resident was defined as residing in a town. If the population was over 10,000, the resident was defined as residing in a city.

The category "raised" referred to the respondent's residence

before the respondent left home, while the category "lived" referred to the locale where the respondent spent the majority of his or her adult years after leaving home.

Present religious affiliation as well as religious affiliation as a child were solicited in order to determine the existence of religious change within the family. The terms "family of origin" and "family of procreation" were explained to the respondents.

Proximity was determined in order to establish a measure of difficulty in establishing physical contact. This question assumed that difficulty in establishing physical contact would reduce the frequency of contact.

Personal Values

Personal values were obtained by using Rokeach's Value Survey (Rokeach, 1973) which is found on the second and third pages of the questionnaire. The instructions were changed from those given by the author in order to allow for the ranking to be made by pen or pencil rather than by using gummed labels. That is, the values were listed and the respondents were asked to write the ranking next to the value.

Rokeach, in commenting on his survey wrote:

The respondent has only his internalized system of value to tell him how to rank the 18 terminal and the 18 instrumental values. Responses to the test are not suggested by the stimulus material. Thus, the ranking is highly projective task ... In view of the projective nature of the Value Survey and the fact that the values it contains are virtually all socially desirable ones, it is hardly surprising that many respondents report the ranking task to be a very difficult one, one that they have little confidence in having completed

in a reliable manner and one they are often sure they had completed more or less randomly. (Rokeach, 1973, p. 27-29).

Rokeach (1973), using samples drawn from college students, reported a test-retest reliability on terminal values of .74. On instrumental values, the reliability was .65. Using an adult population and a 12-week time lapse, the test-retest reliability was also .75 on terminal values. However, no report was given on instrumental values.

Rokeach (1973) found that terminal values had greater reliability than instrumental values. He ascribed this difference to the fact that terminal values had greater stability and their listing was more complete than was the case with instrumental values. Rokeach (1973) also examined the effects of order to determine if this presented a problem in understanding the results of the survey. Order effects, if they exist, should be greater on instrumental values and should cause an elevation in the scores of the first items. Rokeach tested for this effect but failed to find it. However, he did find that, depending on the nature of the sample, the top half or the bottom half of the list of instrumental values tended to be ranked higher. For example, college students will stress being intellectual, logical, and imaginative, while adults will rate honesty, ambition, and courage higher. Rokeach also claimed that social desirability did not influence the responses.

In order to support the validity of his survey, Rokeach (1973) pointed out that behavior can be predicted from his value scale. For example, behavioral differences in race relations and in politics can

be predicted from differential rankings of the value "equality." The average ranking in the value "equality" was 6.5 among people who participated in the civil rights movement. However, the ranking was 14.1 among those who were not in sympathy. Rokeach (1973) stated:

Three values in particular - a comfortable life, equality, and salvation - are significantly related to half or more of all the behaviors as well as to most of the attitudes considered in chapter 4. This finding suggests that socio-economic, political, and religious values are the most powerful determinants of attitudes and behaviors. Other values - being clean, obedient, and polite - predict attitudes more often than they predict behaviors. Yet other values predict behaviors more frequently than they predict attitudes - an exciting life, a world of peace, mature love, pleasure, capable, forgiving, helpful, honest, and self-controlled. Finally, certain values - self-respect and true friendship - seem to be the least frequently predictive of attitudes and behavior.... There is no reason to think that all values must serve equally as standard to guide attitudes and actions. (p. 159-162)

Sources of Satisfaction

In order to examine various sources of satisfaction, a list of activities was drawn up. With each item, the respondents were asked to provide a subjective rating of both the frequency of the behavior, and the satisfaction derived from that behavior. They were also asked to make the ratings on a scale that ranged from one to five. Most of the items (1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, and 33) were taken from an instrument developed by Converse and Robinson (Robinson, 1973). Many of these items were general questions. In this study a number of these general questions were sub-divided into specific areas. For example, in the

Converse-Robinson instrument, only one item referred to helping.

However, in the present study there are several items on helping.

These include helping parents, helping children, helping grandchildren, helping siblings, helping a friend, and helping a neighbor. Items 13 and 21, teaching items, were included because they are important generativity items. Items 7, 23, 24, and 26 were included in order to examine the satisfaction derived from bragging. This instrument is found on the fourth and fifth pages of the questionnaire.

Family Bond

In order to determine the strength of family bond, Guerney's Family life questionnaire (Guerney, 1977) was used. In its various forms, this instrument measures harmony and satisfaction within the family, between husband and wife, between father and son, and between mother and daughter. In this study, the form measuring harmony and satisfaction within the family was used. This form has not been subjected to either reliability or validity tests. However, other forms have this supporting data. Using the form for husbands and wives, and a test-retest interval of eight weeks, Guerney (1977) reported a reliability of .61 and claimed that this was a minimal estimate of the instrument's reliability. On this form, construct validity ranged from .69 to .78 and concurrent validity ranged from .26 to .73, depending upon the exact variable being measured. Using the form for fathers and sons and a 10-week interval, Guerney reported a test-retest reliability of .77.

The respondents were required to answer the family-life questionnaire using both their children and their own parents and siblings as references. Consequently, an obtained score cannot be applied to a specific dyad. Rather, a score specifically applies to the respondent's view of the bond which exists within his or her family as a group. In order to obtain an evaluation of the relationship within specific dyads within a family, multiple testing would have been required. This information would have been valuable. It would also have increased the length of the task to an undesirable degree.

The scores can range from a minimum of 24 to a maximum of 98. This instrument can be found in Guerney (1977), p. 345-347.

Interview Protocol

The interview protocol, which is found in Appendix II, was divided into three groups: values, expectations, and satisfaction. In the first section, parents were asked to describe the values of their parents. The information obtained from this question was salient only for the oldest generation, yielding, as it did, a description of the values of family members who are no longer living. In this way, a picture of family values covering four adult generations was obtained. Parents were also asked if their children were internalizing their values.

In the second section, parents were asked to recall the expectations that they had of their children, as their children were growing up. The respondents were not asked to state their present expectations

even though such a question would have yielded valuable information on changing expectations. The response to this question may give a more realistic picture of a parent's values than the results obtained by the Rokeach survey. The literature indicates that parents have an investment at stake in their children and it is possible that their expectations could reflect views that are held more firmly than the ones expressed through the Rokeach survey. The parents were also asked if their expectations were based on their values and if these were being fulfilled by their children.

In the final section, parents were asked to rate their satisfaction with their children and in particular with the child who was also a part of the study. The parents were then asked to describe any changes in satisfaction with their children that may have taken place over time. They were also asked to describe the behaviors and attitudes of their children or grandchildren that they found satisfying or dissatisfying and to state their reasons for this.

The next group of questions examined the patterns of contact and communication that existed between parents and children. The final question explored the role of social usefulness, generativity, and life-meaning in parent's lives.

Procedure

The questionnaires, found in Appendix I, and the interview questions, found in Appendix II, were administered to each parent individually. Initially, a copy of the questionnaires were delivered by the

author, to the home of each respondent. The instructions, printed on each questionnaire, were read by the author to each respondent. Every effort was made to ensure that the respondents understood their task. The questionnaires were collected several days later and the respondents were then interviewed. This procedure was used with all of the respondents except 12 great-grandparents. In these cases, the age of the respondents made it necessary to provide guidance in answering the questionnaire. That is, it was necessary for the interviewer to read the questionnaire items to the respondent, explaining them, and with the Value Survey, organizing the priority of items.

The fourth-generation adolescents were not interviewed.

Organization of Information

A large portion of the material presented in this study will be based on the respondents' descriptions and responses. These will be examined and similarity will be established in three ways.

1. Similarity in value patterns between individuals within a specific dyad will be established by using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation (Nunnally, 1978). The correlations are merely indices which are being used to describe similarity within this particular group of people. Since the results that are obtained in this study cannot be extended beyond the present population, levels of significance do not have to be established. Using the measures of value similarity obtained by Troll, et al. (1969) as a guide, a correlation of .3 was arbitrarily set as the cut-off point between good and poor value similarity.

2. In order to establish a similarity in value patterns within a group such as a family, correlations taken from all of the dyads which make up a family group will be converted to Fisher's Z, and an average Z score will be obtained and converted back to a correlation.

3. Similarity between variables such as values and expectations

will be established by using percentages based on a similarity of items determined by an analysis of the content of the responses.

Other comparisons will involve a comparison of means or the use of cross-tabulations. Because of the small numbers involved, only frequency counts will be used in the cross-tabulations.

Most of the material obtained in the research and used in this study is based on interview data. In some cases, the analysis will be augmented by statistical manipulations of objective data.

This is a descriptive case-study. Consequently, it is not bound by the rules governing empirical studies. That is, it is not based on a randomly selected sample, significance levels are not established, information is based on self-reports which come from a small group of people and for which reliability has not been established, and, finally, confounding variables have not been controlled. Consequently, the results cannot be used as those coming from an empirical study. That is, they do not apply beyond the families examined.

As a descriptive case study, this study is important because of the depth and breadth of the analysis, the wide geographical area from which the respondents were chosen, the use of family groups composed of three adult generations, the large number of respondents, and, finally, the large number of important hypotheses which were generated.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Description of Parental Values

Value Similarity Within Family Groups

In order to examine intrafamily value similarity, correlation coefficients for the value patterns which were identified by Rokeach's Value Survey were obtained for every dyad that could be formed within each specific family group. These correlations were converted to Fisher's Z scores, an average Z score was obtained, and this was converted back to a correlation. The final correlation was used as an index of value similarity within the family group as a unit.

The similarity in intrafamily value patterns is presented in Table 5. The scores varied from .84, which indicates a great deal of similarity, to -.03, which indicates a slight dissimilarity. It is noteworthy that most of the lower scores were found in instrumental values and two of these occurred in families living in a geographical area that was experiencing a rapid and extensive social change. The low correlations may be a reflection of that change.

Some of the differences which are revealed in this data can be related to differences in the family groups. An analysis of these differences will follow.

In five family groups, the intrafamily correlation on both

TABLE 5
CORRELATIONS OF FAMILY TERMINAL AND
INSTRUMENTAL VALUES

Family	Correlations	
	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values
1 ^a	.07	.20
2 ^a	.57	.43
3 ^a	.42	.27
4	.28	.43
5	.61	.39
6 ^a	.37	.16
7	.37	.05
8 ^a	.13	-.03
9 ^a	.42	.49
10 ^a	.32	.06
11	.37	.22
12	.32	.47
13	.25	.10
14 ^a	.53	.50
15	.55	.66
16 ^a	.47	.18
17 ^b	.59	.85
18	.68	.05

NOTE:

^aThe great-grandparent was guided through the value survey by the interviewer.

^bOnly two generations of this family group were examined.

terminal and instrumental values was above .3. In four of these family groups, the family bond score was above 81, the average family bond score for the study. In the fifth family group, the family bond score was average. In three family groups, the intrafamily correlations on both terminal and instrumental values was below .3. In these three family groups the family bond score was below average. However, the relationship that seems to exist between family bond and value similarity vanishes when all of the families are examined. This can be seen in Table 6.

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY GROUPS ACCORDING TO FAMILY BOND AND SIMILARITY ON TERMINAL VALUES^a

Correlation on Terminal Values	Family Bond Score					
	65-69.9	70-74.9	75-79.9	80-84.9	85-89.9	90-94.9
Above .6			1			
.50 to .59				4		
.40 to .49			1	2		
.30 to .39			1	3		
.20 to .29			1	1		1
.10 to .19	1					

NOTE:

^aFamily 18 is not included

Differences in the similarity of value patterns were related to the gender composition of the family groups. Of the seven family groups which had a similarity above .3 on both instrumental and terminal values, six were composed exclusively of women. All of the family groups which had a similarity below .3 on both instrumental and terminal values, were made up of both men and women. It is not clear if the salient factor was gender similarity as such, or family groups which were exclusively female. This issue could not be resolved because the sample lacked all-male family groups.

In Appendix III the family groups involved in the study are listed and described according to nine variables. From this information, and that found in Table 5, it can be seen that none of the four-generational family groups revealed a strong similarity in both terminal and instrumental value patterns. Only half of the three-generational family groups revealed a similar weakness in value similarity.

An occupational change occurred in all but four family groups. Three of these four family groups revealed a high degree of similarity in value patterns. There were only four family groups in which an occupational change occurred and which showed a strong similarity in value patterns.

The existence of a rural-urban shift within a family group was minimally reflected in the similarity of value patterns. This shift was evident in 12 family groups, of which nine had a similarity on terminal values which was above .3. Five of the six family groups not

experiencing this shift had a similarity on terminal values that was also above .3.

The relationship between similarity in value patterns and the presence of a religious change in the family group, was stronger. Only two of the family groups that had strong value similarity experienced a religious change and in both cases, the change was to a religious tradition which was similar to the previous one. A major religious change took place in three family groups, Families 1, 6, and 10. The similarity in value patterns in these family groups was weaker.

The relationship between value pattern similarity and parent-child proximity was weaker. There was, however, a tendency for value patterns to be similar when parents and children were not separated by large distances.

A number of trends can be seen from the information that has been examined up to this point. These include:

1. In general, there does not seem to be a relationship between family bond and similarity in value patterns.

2. When a family group is made up of a grandmother, a mother and an adult granddaughter, there is a strong tendency for a respondent to have a value pattern which is similar to the value patterns of other members of the family group.

3. When family members are separated by large distances, when there is a shift in occupational area or a shift from a rural to an urban residence, and especially when there is a major shift in religious tradition, the tendency for a respondent to have a value pattern which is similar to the value patterns of other members of the family group, weakens.

Value Similarity Within Intergenerational Dyads

Value similarity within intrafamily intergenerational dyads can also be examined. Differences in intrafamily, intergenerational value patterns can be seen in Table 7. In this table, the average correlations for the intergenerational dyads are presented. The data in this table were obtained by separating all of the interpersonal dyads into intergenerational groups and converting the correlations on both terminal and instrumental values into Fisher's Z scores. This conversion was carried out for each interpersonal dyad. An average Z score was obtained for each group of intergenerational dyads and this was converted back to a correlation, giving an index of similarity in terminal and instrumental value patterns for each intergenerational group. There were six intergenerational groups. The first was made up of 17 dyads from generations one and two (the great-grandparents and the grandparents). The second was made up of 17 dyads from generations two and three (the grandparents and the parents). The third was made up of 18 dyads from generations one and three (the great-grandparents and the parents). The final three groups were made up of dyads involving the fourth-generation adolescent children and their great-grandparents, grandparents, and parents.

This table shows that similarity in value patterns is strongest when adjacent generations, excluding the fourth-generation adolescents, are examined.

TABLE 7

AVERAGE SIMILARITY ON TERMINAL AND INSTRUMENTAL
VALUES FOR INTERGENERATIONAL GROUPS OF DYADS

Generation	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values
1-2	.53	.36
2-3	.53	.33
1-3	.44	.27
3-4	.16	.19
2-4	.19	.15
1-4	.25	.16

In order to examine the relationship between differences in inter-dyadic value patterns and changes in occupational area, residential location, or religion, only respondents who were not involved in the transition were examined. That is, if a second-generation grand-parent moved from the farm to the city, the relationship between this move and value similarity would have to be based on a comparison of the value patterns of the great-grandparent and the third-generation parent. The second-generation grandparent would have been subjected to influences from both the farm and the city, and using this person would make an accurate comparison impossible. However, this restriction made an analysis impossible because of the small number of acceptable dyads.

There was no relationship between birth-order and value similarity at the interdyadic level of analysis. Of the 39 parent-child dyads, 22 involved an oldest child. The average similarity on terminal value patterns for dyads containing oldest sons was .45. The average for dyads containing oldest daughters was .44. Finally, the average for dyads involving a child who was not the oldest child was also .44.

The relationship between the gender composition of a dyad and value similarity, can be seen in Tables 8 and 9. The average similarity in these tables was also obtained by using Fisher's Z scores.

TABLE 8

AVERAGE SIMILARITY ON TERMINAL AND INSTRUMENTAL VALUES FOR DYADS OF DIFFERENT GENDER COMPOSITION

Dyads	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values
Female-Female	.47	.33
Female-Male	.34	.22
Male-Female	.33	.30
Male-Male	.26	.14

TABLE 9

AVERAGE SIMILARITY ON TERMINAL AND INSTRUMENTAL
VALUES FOR PARENT-CHILD DYADS ^a

Dyads	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values
Mother-Daughter	.48	.34
Mother-Son	.32	.24
Father-Daughter	.31	.30

NOTE:

^aThe number of father-son dyads was too small to examine.

These tables show that value similarity within families was strongest between mothers and daughters.

Several other trends can be seen in the information presented in this section. These include:

1. Similarity in interdyadic value patterns is stronger when terminal values are examined.

2. Similarity is also stronger when the intergenerational dyads are made up of respondents from adjacent generations excluding fourth-generation respondents.

3. Similarity is weaker when fourth-generation respondents are involved in an intergenerational dyad.

4. Birth order is not related to differences in parent-child value similarity.

Biographical Family Analysis

The information in Appendix IV shows the correlation on terminal and instrumental values for each intergenerational dyad in Families 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 16, and 18.

Family 1 is unique in that this family had one of the highest correlations for terminal values, as well as the lowest, that was found in this study. The family bond score in this family was below the average for the study. A change in religion took place between the first and second generation, and an occupational and residential change took place between the second and third generations. The occupational change was from farming to skilled trades and the residential change was from farm to city. The gender composition was mixed, with the group consisting of a great-grandfather, his oldest daughter, her oldest son, and his oldest daughter, a 14-year old adolescent. At the present time, the first and second generations live close together while the second and third generations do not. However, the close proximity between the first and second generation is recent.

The correlation on terminal values between the first and second generations was the lowest found in this study for this intergenerational dyad. The religious change was, no doubt, related to this. A more significant factor may have been the great-grandfather's lack of involvement in raising his family. He stated that his work kept him away from his children. Consequently, he added,

his influence upon his children was minimal.

The correlation on terminal values between the second and third generations was one of the highest in this study. The grandmother was very proud of her sons, especially the eldest. References to her eldest son appeared in most of the examples that she used when speaking of her children. This closeness was reciprocated by her son who, she stated, "will do anything for his mother." The grandmother also placed a great deal of emphasis on the role of children in the fulfillment of their parent's lives.

A disconfirming correlation on terminal values was found between the third and fourth generations. In fact, this was the study's strongest negative correlation on terminal values for any dyad made up of adjacent generations. A number of factors may have contributed to this. Among these may have been the limited involvement of the father with his children, marital problems between the father and his wife, a strong relationship between the daughter and her mother, adolescent development, and generational influences. There was little contact, and thus little influence, between the great-grandfather and his great-grandchildren.

In Family 2, the family bond score was slightly above the average for the study. A change in religion, occupational area, and residential area took place between the first and second generations. A second change in occupational area took place between the second and third generations. The occupational change went from farming to

skilled trades, and then to management. The residential change was from farm to city. While the change in this family group was extensive, the similarity, especially on terminal values, was strong in each intergenerational dyad.

The family group was made up of a great-grandmother, her middle daughter, and that daughter's eldest daughter. The husband of the second-generation grandmother died leaving a very young family and the great-grandmother spent a great deal of time helping her daughter to take care of the family. The oldest child, the third-generation parent, was an adolescent at the time and helped at home as much as possible. This event seems to have been one of the most salient events in the lives of the three participants and it was mentioned as the most significant event that the family had experienced. A convergence of goal-oriented values may have been an effect brought on by this event. This event may also explain why happiness and family security appear as two of the top three terminal values for each member of this family group.

The central figure in this family group was the third-generation mother. The frequency of contact between her and her mother was greater than between her siblings and their mother. She was also the grandchild that her grandmother saw most frequently.

In this family group, the large amount of change was not related to a decrease in value similarity. This may have been due to the compensating effects of frequent contacts and close relationships.

Family 5 was a rural family group which had not experienced a major change in either occupation, area of residence, or religion. All three members were farmers, although the great-grandmother was retired. Residential proximity was close. The most significant transition event was the marriage of the second-generation grandmother to a person from a different religious tradition. She did not change her religion.

The family group was made up of a great-grandmother, one of her daughters, and one of this woman's daughters.

While change was minimal in the three areas mentioned, change was nonetheless evident. The marriage of the second-generation grandmother to a person outside of her religious tradition was not encouraged by her church and probably indicated a shift from the values of her parents. If this was the case, the values of this grandmother and her mother converged over the years since the correlation on terminal values was the second highest in the study for this intergenerational dyad. The influence of the second-generation grandfather should have decreased the value similarity between the great-grandmother and her granddaughter. This does not seem to have taken place as this correlation was the highest in the study for this intergenerational dyad.

Change was also evident between the second-generation grandmother and her daughter and this change was reflected in the low correlation on instrumental values. It was also reflected in the

complaints of the older woman concerning the housekeeping ability of her daughter. This difference in instrumental values did not reflect a difference in goals as much as a difference in the behavior used to attain these goals.

The family bond score was barely average for the study. However, the relationship that existed between the respondents in this family group was much stronger than the relationship which was indicated by the family bond score. The strong family relationship, along with the traditional religious influence in that geographical area, may have limited the influence of factors that could have enhanced value dissimilarity. As these external influences increase, dissimilarity may increase as well.

An interesting comparison can be made between this family group and Family 4 since these families are related. In Family 4, a residential and an occupational change took place between the first and second generations. A further occupational change took place between the second and third generations. The residential change was from farm to city. The occupational change was from farming, to skilled trades, to sales, and then to management. Although the family bond score was higher in this family group than in Family 4, value similarity was generally lower. This may have been related to the composition of the group which was made up of a great-grandfather, his oldest daughter, and one of her sons.

The correlation on terminal values between the first and third

generations was one of the lowest in the study and the difference between the correlation for this dyad and the similar dyad from Family 5 was striking. In Family 5, the correlation was .67 while in Family 4, it was .15. A number of factors may be related to this difference in scores. First of all, the urbanization process in Family 4 was extensive. Secondly, in Family 4, the dyad made up of respondents from the first and third generations was all-male, while in Family 5, this intergenerational dyad was all-female. Finally, intergenerational contact in Family 4 was limited. Intergenerational contact was more extensive in Family 5.

Families 8 and 18 were both rural families, living in a geographical area which was undergoing an extensive and rapid social change. This change was not reflected in a change within the religious traditions of either family group. However, a religious change has taken place between the first and second generations within both family groups. This change was reflected in both church attendance and in the ranking given to salvation in the Value Survey.

A change in residential area did not take place in either family group. In Family 18 a change in occupational area took place between the first and second generations and between the second and third generations. The shift went from farming to teaching, and then back to farming.

The family bond score for Family 8 was the lowest in the study. A score was not obtained for Family 18; however, the relationship

between the respondents was close. Family 8 was made up of a great-grandmother, her oldest daughter, and that woman's son. Family 18 was made up of a great-grandmother, one of her daughters, and one of that woman's daughters. It was an all-female family group whose members lived very close together.

All of the intergenerational dyads in Family 8 had low correlations on both terminal and instrumental values. In Family 18, the correlations on terminal values were high while the correlations on instrumental values were low. The differences in Family 18 were striking, especially between the first and second generations. Among this group of intergenerational dyads, the correlation on terminal values for this particular dyad was one of the highest in the study. The correlation on instrumental values was the lowest.

These correlations may indicate that social change has had a more rapid effect on Family 8, reducing similarity on both terminal and instrumental values. Family 18 may have been protected from some of the effects of this change by the cohesion of the family group. However, cohesion does not seem to have protected similarity on instrumental values. While the goals have remained similar in this family, the behaviors used to achieve these goals have changed. This may have been related to the professionalization of the second-generation grandmother.

Family 9 has experienced a great deal of change. A residential and occupational change has taken place between each adjacent gener-

ation in this family group. Value similarity was moderately high even though the greatest similarity was in instrumental values. The residential change was from farm to town, and then to city. The occupational change was from farming to skilled trades, and then to technical school instructor.

The bond between the first- and second-generation respondents was not characterized by closeness. The second-generation grandmother reported that, as a child, she received strict but fair treatment from her parents. She loved and respected her parents; however, they were aloof, and a distance developed between parents and children. The relationship between the second-generation grandmother and her oldest daughter, the final person in this family group, was very close.

In this family group, it was difficult to separate the effects of residential, occupational, and personal change, especially in the life of the second-generation grandmother. Perhaps, in spite of these changes, a disciplined upbringing maintained at least a superficial similarity in value patterns between the first- and second-generation respondents. That is, the goals may have changed but external behaviors changed less.

Family 16 was a four-generational family group, made up of a great-grandmother, her oldest son, his oldest son, and the oldest daughter of the third-generation parent. The presence of oldest children and gender change was extensive. A residential and occupational change took place between the second and third generations. The

residential change was from farm to city and the occupational change was from farming to teaching.

The correlation on terminal values between the first- and second-generation respondents was the highest in this study for mixed-gender dyads. This high correlation can be explained by a close bond that exists between the members of this dyad, contrasting with the strained relations that existed between the grandfather and his father.

The correlation on terminal values between the second and third generations and between the third and fourth generations were the highest in the study for these intergenerational dyads. These high correlations were not typical in dyads with this gender mix. They reflect the strength of the relationship between the members of this family. The correlations generally are what one would expect from Adler's teaching on the eldest son and his relationship with his parents. The correlation between the third and fourth generations suggests that this can be extended to eldest daughters as well. However, these correlations are exceptions.

Values of Parents of Generation One

The information in Appendix V is presented primarily for the sake of interest. In this appendix, the six highest ranked terminal and instrumental values of each first-generation respondent are listed. Along with these values is a list of values that these respondents ascribed to their parents. The material is presented according to family. The last entry for each family indicates the ratio of reported values

that were reflected in the most important values obtained from the Value Survey of each first-generation respondent.

This examination represents the salient impressions of 16 elderly men and women. These impressions were subject to memory loss, distortions arising from a desire to present parents in a good light, distortions arising from the need to establish a conformity with their parents, and distortions based on immature cognitive styles. Yet, they give the only glimpse we have of the values held by that deceased generation.

The values that were recalled most frequently were salvation, ambition, obedience, honesty, family security, and helpfulness. In 13 of the 16 comparisons, at least half of the reported values appeared in the highest ranked values of the first generation respondents. The existence of this similarity may indicate a number of things. First of all, this may be an actual measure, even though a poor one, of value similarity and dissimilarity between these two generations. Secondly, it may be a report of the person's own values. If this is the case, the ranking obtained from the Rokeach scale is partially confirmed. Dissimilarity may indicate an actual value change between these two generations. If this is the case, it indicates that value change is not a recent phenomenon.

In answering the interview questions, the respondent's spouse was often present. The response to this question usually drew a comment from the spouse and the comment was always one of agree-

ment. This indicates that the reported values were probably more accurate than inaccurate.

Value Transmission

In response to the question on children internalizing parental values, 48 of the 53 respondents indicated that this was taking place, but eight qualified their responses. The qualifications which they expressed indicated that their responses may have been more realistic than the responses of the others. A number of these respondents pointed out that some of their values were being internalized by their children while others were not. Two parents pointed out that their children had internalized both their values and their faults. Another parent pointed out that the process of values transmission was reciprocal in that parents also learned values from their children.

Needless to say, this does not prove that value transmission takes place. The data does indicate that these parents believed that it was taking place, to some degree at least.

Over half of the parents stated that the process of value transmission was based on a combination of example and instruction. Grandparents tended to mention example and instruction, while great-grandparents tended to mention instruction and consequences. Grandparents and parents placed a great stress on using explanations as a part of both instructions and the setting of examples. Third-generation parents tended to mention the role of consequences less often than first-generation great-grandparents.

Conclusion

The examination of value patterns revealed a number of trends.

These are reviewed below.

Similarity in both intrafamily and intradyadic value patterns were strongest when terminal value patterns were compared. This has been found by other authors (Antonucci, et al., 1979) and was expected, considering the stability of terminal values (Rokeach, 1973). The degree of similarity varied greatly and this variation was related to a number of factors. When value patterns within family groups were examined, a weak negative relationship was found between similarity in value patterns and changes in both occupational areas and residential location. A stronger negative relationship existed between value similarity and a change in religious tradition. A relationship was not found between value similarity and birth order or family bond. In both cases, this was unexpected.

The existence of a strong family bond and weaker value similarity in some families may indicate that, in these families, individuals are free to be different and these differences do not threaten family unity.

Intrafamily value similarity was also related to the number of generations that made up a family group. Similarity in value patterns were strong when the examination was limited to value patterns found in the adult respondents. The inclusion of value patterns from fourth-generation adolescent children was often accompanied by a reduction

in intrafamily value similarity. This reduction may have been caused by a number of factors. Rokeach (1973) pointed out that an individual's values are in a state of flux until late adolescence or early adulthood. Adolescence is also a period which is often accompanied by a rebellion against parental values (Troll, 1980). Finally, peer influences are quite strong during this period.

Bengston (1975) found that intergenerational value similarity was strongest in dyads made up of adjacent generations. This was generally confirmed except for dyads made up of respondents from the third and fourth generations. The reasons for this reduction have been noted earlier.

The relationship between similarity in value patterns and the gender composition of both the family group and the intergenerational dyad was also examined. The strongest similarity was found in dyads and family groups composed exclusively of women, and especially in mother-daughter dyads. Similarity was weaker in mixed-gender dyads and family groups. It was weakest in all-male dyads. There were no all-male family groups in the study.

The existence of gender differences in value patterns has been established by a number of authors (Antonucci, 1974; Berens, 1972; Musgrave, & Reid, 1977; Rokeach, 1973; Seeley, Sim, & Loosley, 1960). Therefore, a reduction in the similarity of value pattern in mixed-gender dyads and family groups, was not surprising. The strong similarity in value patterns that was characteristic of mother-

daughter dyads, does not support Freud's argument that female identification is weak. It does suggest the importance of this dyad in value transmission.

In examining the values of the first generation's parents, a glimpse was given of the values held by many of the early settlers of this province. These reported values may indicate that a change in values took place between these generations.

The method of value transmission revealed generational differences, with second- and third-generation respondents relying on social learning principles and stressing the role of cognition in their teaching practices. While value transmission was not established, these parents clearly believed that it took place.

Trends relevant to the individuals studied, can be summarized as follows:

1. Similarity in value patterns is strongest when terminal values are examined.

2. There is no relationship between value similarity and birth order.

3. A slight negative relationship exists between value similarity and intrafamily changes in occupational areas and in residential location when the latter change involves a shift from a rural to an urban residence.

4. A stronger negative relationship exists between value similarity and a major change in the religious tradition of the family group.

5. The relationship between value similarity and family bond vanishes when examined over all families. However, family bond may be related to value similarity in some families.

6. A strong similarity in value patterns is found in all-female

family groups and intergenerational, especially mother-daughter dyads.

7. Intergenerational dyads made up of individuals from adjacent generations have greater value similarity than dyads made up of individuals from nonadjacent generations.

8. Similarity in value patterns decreases when fourth-generation adolescents are included in the examination.

9. The biographical analysis indicates that individual and situational differences within specific families can generate a great deal of confusion in the study of value patterns, especially if these differences are interacting variables.

10. A change in value patterns has taken place between each adjacent generation. A similar change may have taken place between the first-generation respondents and their parents.

11. Parents believe that value transmission occurs and younger parents speak of this transmission in terms associated with social learning theory.

Description of Parental Expectations

Identification of Parental Expectations

The information in Appendix VI identifies the expectations that the respondents had of their children when their children were growing up. This list was based on self-reports in response to Interview Question 3. The accuracy of these reported parental expectations may have been limited by forgetfulness, disappointments, and social desirability. That is to say, some respondents, especially the elderly, were asked to remember expectations that they had 50 years ago. If memory tends to fade in the elderly, one can expect that a perfect completion of the task, for this age-group at least, was impossible. Expectations and identification of these expectations may have changed in the face of disappointments, especially if the respondents, in later years, viewed these expectations as unrealistic. Two respondents actually identified expectations which they described as unrealistic in view of their children's capabilities and then added that the interviewer was probably not interested in these.

In general, some expectations changed when the analysis moved from the expectations of respondents in one generation to the expectations of respondents in another generation. However, many parental expectations remained the same. Great-grandparents expected their children to get an education, to follow the family's religious tradition, to be hardworking and honest, to have and care for a family, to be obedient and respectable, and to have clean living habits. Second-

generation respondents expected their children to get an education, to be honest, to be competent, to follow the family's religious tradition, to be obedient, and to be happy. Third-generation respondents expected their children to get an education, to be responsible and honest, to be competent, to be happy, and to be helpful.

In general, the respondents in the three generations expressed expectations which focused on external behaviors such as honesty, going to church, and helpfulness. Expectations relating to inner dispositions tended to be mentioned by third-generation parents. These expectations were not mentioned frequently.

Great-grandmothers expected their children to practice their religion, to get an education, to be hardworking, to provide for the support and security of their families, to be respectable, and to be honest. Great-grandfathers expected their children to get an education, to be responsible, to be honest, and to be hardworking. Second-generation grandmothers expected their children to be honest, to get an education, to be obedient, to be competent, and to practice their religion. Second-generation grandfathers expected their children to get an education, to be competent, to be honest and responsible, to be helpful, and to practice their religion. Third-generation mothers expected their children to be happy, to get an education, to be helpful and competent, and to practice their religion. Third-generation fathers expected their children to be competent, to be honest and

responsible, and to get an education.

In order to obtain differences related to urban as opposed to rural residence, only people who were raised in one setting and continued to live there were examined. This restriction was used in order to eliminate responses from people who may have been influenced by both settings. Farm people tended to expect their children to get an education, to be honest, to practice their religion, and to have a family and support it. Urban parents expected their children to be competent, to get an education, to be happy and responsible, and to have a family and support it.

There were also some differences related to occupational areas. Farmers expected their children to be responsible and honest, to get an education, to be competent, and to practice their religion. People in skilled trades expected their children to get an education, and to be honest, competent, responsible, hardworking, and obedient. People who were managers or professionals expected their children to get an education, to be honest and responsible, to be helpful and competent, and to be happy.

The order in which these expectations are listed was based on the frequency with which they were mentioned by the respondents. The differences between individual items were not large.

Parental expectations were rarely similar from generation to generation within specific families and when such similarity was

found, it was usually between respondents from the first- and second-generations. In some families, expectations have remained similar from generation to generation. In Family 4, the common expectation was honesty. In Families 5 and 13, the common expectation was getting an education. In Family 11, it was respectability and in Family 18, it was independence.

In Family 4, honesty was one of the highest ranking instrumental values for each respondent in the family group. A similar conformity between common expectations and common, important values, existed for Families 13 and 18. In Family 5, salvation was not one of the highest ranking values for the first generation respondent. A similar lack of conformity existed in Families 7, 11, and 15.

These trends indicate that only a few families in this study can be typified by common characteristics which serve both as important values and as parental expectations.

In Table 10 parental expectations are divided into four general groups and are listed by family and generation. The first group includes expectations that focus on personal behaviors or beliefs. This group, referred to as "P" in the table, includes expectations such as religious practice, honesty, obedience, respectability, dependability, and independence. The second group includes expectations that refer to academic and occupational goals. This group, referred to as "A" in the table, includes expectations such as getting an education, performing to the best of one's ability, having a trade,

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY OF TYPES OF PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS FOR EACH FAMILY AND GENERATION

Family	Generation		
	One	Two	Three
1	2P ^a , 3A ^b	3P, 1A	3P, 1F ^c
2	1P, 1A, 1F, 1C ^d	3P, 3A	1P, 1A, 2F, 1C
3		1P, 1A	4P, 2A, 1F
4	2P, 3A	4P, 2A, 1F	4P, 2A, 1F, 1C
5	3P, 2A, 1F	2P, 1A	4P, 1A
6		1P, 3A	4P, 4A, 2F
7	3P, 2A	6P, 1A	4P, 3A
8	4P, 1A, 1F, 3C	3P, 1A, 1C	
9	1P, 3A	3P, 1A	2P, 2A
10	2P, 2A	4P, 2A, 1C	2P, 2A
11	2P, 2A	3P	6P, 1C
12	2P, 1A, 1F	2P, 2A, 1F, 1C	3P, 1A
13	2P, 2A, 1F	3P, 1A, 2F, 2C	5P, 2A, 1C
14		6P, 2A	5P, 1A
15	2P, 2A, 1F	1P, 1A	2P, 3A
16	3P, 1A, 1F, 1C	3P, 3A	3A, 1C
17	3P, 1F		2P, 2A
18	1P, 2A	3P	3P

NOTE:

^aExpectations which focus on the person^bExpectations which focus on academic or occupational achievement^cExpectations which focus on family responsibility^dExpectations which focus on community concerns

and being competent. The third group is made up of expectations that relate to the person's family. This group, referred to as "F" in the table, includes expectations such as providing for one's family and being good parents. The final group is made up of expectations that refer to community-oriented behaviors in which the focus of the behavior is on service to others in the community. This group, referred to as "C" in the table, includes expectations such as helpfulness and community service.

These divisions are based on an analysis of the content of the expectations and the table provides a picture of the orientations upon which the expectations may have been based.

Expectations categorized as personal expectations and expectations focusing on achievement were mentioned most frequently, and of these, personal expectations were more common. This may be due to the fact that there were more of them. The low frequency of family-based expectations should not be regarded as an indication that family concerns were not important in the lives of the respondents. Considering the high family bond scores noted earlier, one can assume that family-based expectations existed. However, no reason can be found to explain why these expectations were not mentioned.

Relationship Between Expectations and Values

The material in Appendix VII shows a comparison between values and expectations. The comparison was based on the six highest ranking terminal and instrumental values of each respondent. The number of

expectations that were similar to these values were recorded. For example, the great-grandfather in Family 1, responding to Interview Question 3, listed four expectations that he had of his children. However, only one of these appeared as a high-ranking value in the Rokeach Value Survey. Similarity was, consequently, one out of four.

The similarity scores that were obtained may be artificially low. The decrease may have resulted from using a fixed point at which the evaluation ceased. In this study, the fixed point was the value which was ranked as sixth. Similarity was not recorded if the expectation was similar to a value ranked as seventh or beyond. In the minds of many respondents, there was little difference in importance between a value ranked as sixth and one ranked as seventh.

The accuracy of the list of expectations is limited because of a loss of memory and the possibility of selective reporting. The accuracy of the comparison process is limited because of the subjective nature of the evaluation and the lack of interrater reliability. In many cases, this was not a problem. For example, one would not expect a great deal of variation in the definition of honesty. However, the expectation that children have an education was not listed as a value by Rokeach. Consequently, the desire for an education was equated with the instrumental value "capable." While this was the best fit, it was also an imperfect one. Other expectations, such as developing a pleasing personality, could not be compared at all even though this

expectation may have been based on a salient parental value that was not included in Rokeach's survey. In other cases, a parental expectation was partially related to a value listed by Rokeach. For example, many older respondents expected their children to go to church. Going to church and salvation are not functionally equivalent terms, but they are related, even though the nature of this relationship may vary from individual to individual.

In general, the similarity between reported parental expectations and parental values was not perfect, but it was present. Among third-generation parents, 58% of the expectations which they reported having of their children were reflected in the values which they ranked as important. Among the second-generation grandparents, the similarity was 43%. Among parents of the first generation, the similarity was 50%. These statements do not represent a claim that, for example, 58% of all third-generation parental expectations were related to these parents' values. The claim extends only to the expectations that were expressed. If the relationship between these reported parental expectations and the ranked parental values was reflective of the actual relationship between all of the expectations that a parent had of his child and the values of that parent, then a claim could be made that such a similarity existed, that it was not perfect, and that it was strongest in the youngest generation of parents.

Generational differences in the degree of similarity may be explained in a number of ways. First of all, the third-generation parents

mentioned more expectations and a great variety of expectations.

Secondly, the differences may have indicated an age-related change in the realism of parental expectations. Finally, external factors and generational influences may have had a differential effect on values and on expectations.

There were no major gender or residential differences in the similarity between parental values and reported parental expectations. The similarity for men was 49% and for women it was 52%. The similarity for urban residents was 49% and for rural residents it was 50%. There were some small differences when occupational areas were examined. The similarity for farmers was 50% and for professional or managerial respondents, the similarity was 52%. Similarity among respondents who were skilled workers dropped to 46%. The difference between professional and skilled workers was large and may reflect the effects of an education-based sophistication in parental expectations.

Most of the expectations which were related to values, were related to instrumental values. This could indicate that people tend to make evaluations which are based on external, means-oriented, instrumental behaviors rather than on goals. Goals may simply be taken for granted until someone asks about them.

This observation is not contradicted by the frequency with which religious practice appeared as a parental expectation. This item was linked with the terminal value "salvation." The actual expectation,

however, was stated in terms which reflected a focus on the means rather than on the goal. Religious practice, as an instrumental value, was not listed by Rokeach.

During the interview, parents were asked if they thought that their expectations were based on their values. Of the 48 respondents who replied, 46 gave unqualified affirmative responses and two gave qualified affirmative responses. This indicates that the parents expected something of their children because they valued it. This is reflected in the following quotations:

A third-generation mother stated:

I am happy with my values and I see them as being good for me and for my children. These values brought me happiness and I want my children to be happy. If they follow my values, they will be happy.

Another third-generation mother stated:

My children are expected to follow my values because they (the values) are good for them and make up a necessary part of their lives. When children do this, the parent is shown to be a good parent. If they remember and keep these values, it shows something about your ability to train them.

A third-generation father stated:

By living your values you get satisfaction out of life and receive joy and happiness. This is in proportion to your success in these values. Values are expectations that you have of your children because you want to see them happy as well.

A second-generation grandmother stated:

Values are really expectations because values are important. When a child fulfills your expectations, he is saying "I want to please you" and children should never do anything to make

their parents ashamed.

In general, these respondents saw their values as having a positive influence on their lives and they wanted their children to share in this. The final quotation is from a third-generation mother who felt that her expectations were only partially based on her values and that, "along with the expectation is the awareness that the child should be an individual. However, some values are taught because they are needed for the child to be a good person."

Fulfillment of Parental Expectations

In Interview Question 5a (Int. 5a), the respondents were asked if their children were acting the way that they, the parents, expected them to act. Affirmative responses were given by 47 of the 53 respondents. Among the affirmative responses, 17 were qualified.

The information in Table 11 indicates that the people who gave a qualified affirmative response had lower family-bond scores and tended to show a greater variation in that score.

TABLE 11

FAMILY BOND DIFFERENCES IN RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTION 5A

Int. 5a	Family Bond Mean	Family Bond Standard Deviation
Unqualified Affirmative	83.93	6.69
Qualified Affirmative	79.31	7.68

Of the 17 people who gave qualified responses, eight were more than one standard deviation from the family bond mean. Five were more than one standard deviation above and three were more than one standard deviation below. The five that were above were all third-generation parents. This indicates that almost a third of the younger parents had a very positive view of their families but tended to have a more negative view of their own children.

Of the 17 people who qualified their responses, eight were third-generation parents. This made up just under one-half of the parents in that generational group. This indicates a tendency for parents in this study to be more critical of their children when their children are still at home. This tendency may result from a combination of constant contact, a greater number of expectations, and more incidents of observed failure.

Differences were also evident when the responses to Interview Question 5a were compared with the responses to Interview Question 17a (Int. 17a) which sought to determine the frequency of parent-child contacts, and with the responses to Interview Question 19a (Int. 19a) which sought to determine the amount of information that children gave to their parents. The information in Table 12 was based on a frequency count using a cross-tabulation of responses to Interview Question 5a and Interview Question 17a. The categories for the latter refer to the frequency of contact between a parent and child, excluding contact by mail or phone.

TABLE 12

CROSS-TABULATION OF THE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
 OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTION 5a
 AND INTERVIEW QUESTION 17a

Int. 5A	Int. 17a	
	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
Unqualified Affirmative	3 (10.3%)	17 (58.6%)
Qualified Affirmative	4 (13.8%)	5 (17.2%)

The numbers that were used as a basis for the data in Table 12 were very small and excluded third-generation parents with children at home. Few conclusions can be drawn beyond stating that there was a tendency on the part of parents in this study to report that their children behaved according to parental expectations. Parents who made this report tended to see their children more than once a week.

The information in Table 13 was based on a frequency count using a cross-tabulation of responses to Interview Question 5a and Interview Question 19a. The categories for Interview Question 19a refer to the amount of personal information that parents felt they were given by their children. These categories are very vague and should be interpreted as two poles on a continuum which ranges from partial openness, on the part of a child, to complete openness.

TABLE 13

CROSS-TABULATION OF THE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
 OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTION 5a
 AND INTERVIEW QUESTION 19a

Int. 5a	Int. 19a	
	Some	Everything
Unqualified Affirmative	6 (13.6%)	10 (22.7%)
Qualified Affirmative	9 (20.5%)	19 (43.2%)

The information shows that the parents who indicated that their children told them what was happening in their lives, also tended to report that their children were acting the way they, the parents, expected them to act.

In Interview Question 2a (Int. 2a), the respondents were asked if their children were internalizing their values. A frequency distribution of the responses to this question and Interview Question 5a is presented in Table 14. Parents who reported that their children were learning their values, also tended to report that their children were acting as they expected them to act. These results are not surprising and they were expected.

TABLE 14

CROSS-TABULATION OF THE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
 OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTION 5a
 AND INTERVIEW QUESTION 2a

Int. 5a	Int. 2a	
	Qualified Affirmative	Unqualified Affirmative
Qualified Affirmative	8	9
Unqualified Affirmative	0	30

In order to determine if a relationship existed between the parental perception that a child was acting as the parents expected him to act and parental satisfaction with that child, a comparison was attempted between the responses given to Interview Question 5a and those given to Interview Question 7b (Int. 7b) which requested a general rating of parental satisfaction. All of the parents responded to the latter question by saying that they were very satisfied with their children and this made an analysis impossible. A comparison was also made between the responses given to Interview Question 5a and the satisfaction ratings on Items 21 (teaching children), 26 (talking about children), 28 (helping children), and 29 (visiting children) of the activities section of the questionnaire. This comparison is found in Table 15 and the values are based on a rating scale which ranges from a low of 0 to a high of 5.

TABLE 15

COMPARISON OF THE SATISFACTION RATING ON SEVERAL ACTIVITIES WITH RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTION 5^a

Int. 5a	Activities			
	Teaching Children	Talking About Children	Helping Children	Visiting Children
Qualified Affirmative	4.36	4.19	4.64	4.75
Unqualified Affirmative	4.64	3.92	4.69	4.68

The information in this table indicates moderate differences in the satisfaction derived from teaching and talking about children but not from helping or visiting children. Some of these results were not surprising. Visiting and helping children can be regarded as basic parental obligations and satisfaction coming from the fulfillment of these obligations may not change, especially when the relationship in the parent-child dyad is generally strong. Satisfaction derived from teaching children may involve an evaluation of the results of that teaching. When the teaching involves the teaching of values, an evaluation of the results of teaching may be based, in part at least, on the conformity between the child's actions and parental expectations. When parents see such a conformity, they may tend to be more satisfied with the activity that brought about that conformity.

Parental reports of unrealized expectations may have indicated unrealistic expectations, realistic parental evaluations, negative parental opinions, or a combination of these three. In this study,

parental expectations were not measured in terms of being realistic or unrealistic. It is conceivable that younger parents, half of whom indicated that their parental expectations were only partially fulfilled, had more unrealistic expectations of their children than older parents who may have allowed age and experience to temper and change the view that they had of their early parental expectations. Younger parents, with children still at home, may have been exposed to more failure, and consequently deviance may have been reported more frequently.

Conclusion

In this study, a large number of parental expectations were identified and differences relating to differences in gender, generation, area of residence, and occupational area were found.

The most frequently mentioned parental expectations focused on obtaining an education and on honesty. The importance of honesty was suggested in the report by Hess and Handel (1959). The parental concern for children's education was reflected in a series of studies covering the last 20 years (Banducci, 1967; Baruch, 1972; Cohen, 1965; Grenbow, 1973; Love, 1972; Smith, et al., 1978; Teichman, et al., 1976; Wittek, 1973). The frequently mentioned concern for children's education, on the part of the great-grandparents, indicates that this concern was a parental expectation for more than the 20 years indicated by these studies.

Great-grandparents, especially great-grandmothers, expected their children to go to church and to support their families. This

group of respondents was the only group in which family-related expectations were frequently mentioned. Seelbach (1978) found a related, although different concern when he reported that the elderly expected aid from their children in times of need. Both of these results show expectations relating to the family. Respondents from other age-groups did not mention family-related expectations as frequently and this may indicate generational differences in the salience of family-related expectations.

Great-grandparents also expected their children to go to church, and this expectation was voiced more frequently by respondents in this generation, especially by the great-grandmothers, than by respondents in the other generations. Responses which reflected inner dispositions appeared in the expectations voiced by third-generation parents, but not in the expectations voiced by great-grandparents.

Differences in parental expectations were also found when differences in occupational areas and residential locations were examined. In this study, professional or managerial parents voiced parental expectations relating to the inner dispositions of their children. Hess and Handel (1959) reported similar expectations from middle-class parents. Religious practice was mentioned more frequently by farm parents than by parents in other occupational areas.

The respondents in this study generally reported that the expectations which they had of their children were based on their own values. An examination of the similarity between parental values and

parental expectations indicated that the relationship was not perfect even though it was present.

The similarity between parental values and expressed parental expectations was strongest among third-generation parents and weakest among second-generation grandparents. It was also strongest among parents who were professionals or managers and it was weakest among parents who were skilled workers. Differences in similarity were not reflected in either gender differences or differences in residential location.

Parents tended to report that their children were acting as they, the parents expected them to act, and they reported this especially when they saw their children frequently, when their children kept them informed about what was taking place in their lives, when the family bond score was high, when the respondent was not a third-generation parent, and when their children were learning their values.

These trends can be summarized as follows:

1. Differences in parental expectations are related to differences in gender, generation, occupational area and residential location.

2. There is a modest similarity between parental expectations and parental values. Generational differences and differences in occupational area were related to differences in this similarity.

3. Most parents report that their children are acting as they expect them to act. This report was more frequent from parents who saw their children at least twice a week and from parents whose children were open with them.

4. A relationship between parental satisfaction with a child and the perception of a state of conformity between parental expectations and the child's behavior, was not found because of a lack of expressed parental dissatisfaction.

Description of Parental Satisfaction

Sources of Satisfaction

The respondents in this study indicated that they derived a great deal of satisfaction from their families. This was not surprising in view of the studies reviewed earlier. The material in Appendix VIII shows that satisfaction varies in degree when different sources are considered. Differences in satisfaction were related to generational and gender differences, differences in residential location, and differences in the birth-order of the parents within their families of origin (parental-birth-order).

The most satisfying activities involved interactions with family members, friends, or neighbors. The most satisfying activity was helping a grandchild, followed closely by visiting a child, and then by helping a child. In general, when family-oriented activities were examined, grandchildren provided more satisfaction than other family members. When satisfaction derived from helping and visiting was examined, satisfaction derived from helping and visiting children and grandchildren was higher than satisfaction derived from similar activities involving parents, siblings, friends, or neighbors. The one exception to this trend was visiting a friend which was slightly more satisfying than visiting a grandchild but less satisfying than visiting a child. This general pattern was found among the great-grandparents and among the third-generation parents. A different picture was found

when the second-generation grandparents were examined. Among respondents in this generation, helping a child was less satisfying than helping a grandchild or helping a parent, but more satisfying than helping a friend or neighbor. Visiting a child was the most satisfying of all activities considered for the respondents in this generation.

The third-generation parents, with children still at home, found their greatest satisfaction in helping their children. This was closely followed by helping and visiting their parents. The parents of these third-generation parents reported that visiting their children was the most satisfying of the activities listed. This was followed by helping their grandchildren and visiting either their grandchildren or their own parents. Great-grandparents reported that helping their adult grandchildren was the most satisfying activity listed, followed by helping their children and then by visiting them.

Men derived less satisfaction than women from some activities involving children and grandchildren. This was especially true of visiting and helping. Men also derived less satisfaction than women from activities involving siblings. Differences related to gender were very small when activities involving parents, friends and neighbors were examined. Men derived their greatest satisfaction from visiting their children while women derived their greatest satisfaction from helping either a child or a grandchild.

People living on a farm derived more satisfaction from visits with their children and from activities involving their grandchildren

than people living in the city. In general, people living in a city derived more satisfaction from the other activities listed. The exceptions were visiting friends, helping neighbors, and going to church. People living on a farm reported their greatest satisfaction from helping a grandchild, followed closely by visiting a child, helping a child, and visiting a friend. People living in the city also reported their greatest satisfaction from helping their children. This was followed by visiting their parents and then teaching their children.

Oldest children derived either the same amount or less satisfaction from activities involving their own children and their grandchildren. The only exception to this pattern involved satisfaction derived from teaching their children. Oldest children also derived the same or less satisfaction from all the other activities except those involving parents or visiting siblings.

Of the eight activities involving children and grandchildren, three generated satisfaction scores which were either very high or very low. These included talking about grandchildren's accomplishments, teaching grandchildren, and talking about children's accomplishments. The last activity generated 10 extreme responses, three high and seven low. High scores came from the great-grandfather in Family 1 and from both the great-grandmother and the third-generation mother in Family 2. No reasons can be given for these high scores other than parental enjoyment in talking about their children.

Seven parents reported very low satisfaction from talking about

their children. The great-grandmother in Family 5 stated that she rarely talked about her children or grandchildren because that would lead to comparisons being made, something she wished to avoid. The third-generation father in Family 6 also reported low satisfaction when answering this question on the questionnaire. However, when asked a similar question during the interview, he reported deriving a great deal of enjoyment from talking about his children. The third-generation mother in Family 9 stated that her children's triumphs and failures were kept within the immediate family and were discussed with her children but rarely with her parents. The importance of these events was not downplayed. However, they were not advertised. The great-grandmother in Family 11 reported that she did not talk about her children as much as she talked about her grandchildren. She indicated that her children were taken for granted but that she enjoyed talking about her grandchildren. However, on the questionnaire she indicated less satisfaction from talking about her grandchildren than from talking about her children. The second-generation grandfather in Family 12 stated that, since his children had grown up, they were rarely a topic of conversation.

Three respondents reported deriving little satisfaction from talking about their grandchildren. These included the great-grandmother in Family 11, who was mentioned earlier, the great-grandmother in Family 16, and the second-generation grandfather in Family 13, who stated that he had little contact with his grandchildren and that

he did not desire such contact. However, he enjoyed being with his adult children and their spouses.

The amount of satisfaction derived from teaching, helping, visiting, or talking about children was not related to either the frequency of parent-child contacts or to the amount of information that the children gave to parents about themselves.

General Satisfaction with Children

In Interview Question 7b (Int. 7b), all of the respondents were asked to rate their satisfaction with their children and in Interview Question 7a (Int. 7a), they were asked to rate their satisfaction with the specific child who was involved in the study. Most of the respondents who answered Int. 7b, that is, 41 out of 51, stated that they were very satisfied. Nine stated that they were satisfied and one stated that she was neither satisfied or dissatisfied. Most of the respondents who answered Int. 7a, that is, 26 out of 39, stated that they were very satisfied, while 13 stated that they were satisfied.

Those expressing satisfaction with the child to be interviewed were examined in greater detail. There were no generational differences in this group, as two out of every three respondents in the first and second generations said that they were very satisfied with the child who was in the study. Those stating that they were very satisfied tended to live in the city rather than on farms. They also tended to live close to their children, to be men, and not to be an oldest child. Table 16 shows the frequency distribution of these groups. Third-

generation parents who did not have children involved in the study, were not included in this analysis. Interview Question 7a was used because of the more balanced distribution of responses.

TABLE 16

GENERATIONAL, RESIDENTIAL, BIRTH-ORDER, PROXIMITY,
AND GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE FREQUENCY
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTION 7a

INT. 7a	Generation			Residence		Birth-Order		Proximity		Gender	
	1	2	3	Farm	City	Oldest	Other	Near	Far	Male	Female
Very satisfied	10	11	5	9	12	9	17	22	4	9	17
Satisfied	6	5	0	9	4	5	8	10	3	3	10

A difference in family-bond scores was found between parents who stated that they were satisfied and parents who stated that they were very satisfied. The mean for the former group was 77.3. For the latter group it was 82.6. On a five-point scale, satisfaction derived from an oldest child was rated at 4.68. For other children, it was 4.57.

Similarity Between Values, Expectations, and Sources of Satisfaction

The information in Appendices VI and IX lists the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction which parents and grandparents derived from their children and grandchildren. These items indicate that a great deal of satisfaction was derived from external behaviors. Items reflecting more of an internal disposition were not as common.

Table 17 shows the average similarity between parental values and

parental expectations, parental values and sources of parental satisfaction, and parental expectations and sources of parental satisfaction.

TABLE 17

AVERAGE SIMILARITY BETWEEN PARENTAL VALUES,
PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS, AND SOURCES
OF PARENTAL SATISFACTION

	Values: Expectations	Satisfactions: Values	Satisfactions: Expectations
Similarity	.53	.47	.36

The comparisons with values were obtained by using the six highest ranking terminal and instrumental values of each parent. An evaluation was made to determine how many expectations and sources of satisfaction were similar to these values. Similarity between expectations and sources of satisfaction was determined by an analysis of the content of each response. An average was then obtained for each area of comparison and these averages are reported in the Table. For example, the great-grandfather in Family 1 listed four expectations that he had of his children. He also listed five items which were sources of the satisfaction that he derived from his children. One out of the four expressed expectations (or .25) and two out of the five expressed sources of satisfaction (or .40) were reflected in the terminal and instrumental values which he ranked from one to six. However, only one of the five expressed sources of satisfaction (.20) was reflected in the list of expressed expectations which he had of his

children. A similar comparison was made for each parent in the study. These individual comparisons are found in Appendix VII. The average similarity for each area of comparison, that is, values-expectations, values-sources of satisfaction, and expectations-sources of satisfaction is found in Table 17.

The material in Table 17 shows that comparisons involving values are more similar than comparisons which do not. That is, the similarity was strongest between values and expressed expectations. It decreased when values and sources of satisfaction were compared, and when sources of satisfaction and expectations were compared, the similarity was weak. This indicates that both parental expectations and sources of satisfaction are related to expressed parental values. Expressed parental expectations and sources of satisfaction are not related to the same degree.

The material in Appendix VII shows the similarity between parental values, expectations, and satisfactions for each respondent in the study. This information shows that for some respondents, similarity was generally good in all categories. For other respondents, it was good in some areas and poor in the others. With a few people, similarity was poor in all areas of comparison. The method used to obtain the similarity between values and expectations, and values and sources of satisfaction has already been described. Similarity between expectations and sources of satisfaction was derived by an analysis of the content of the responses and a subsequent determination of the number

of stated sources of satisfaction which were reflected in the stated parental expectations.

The material in Appendix X shows the similarity between the six highest ranking terminal and instrumental values and the items which were sources of grandparental satisfaction or dissatisfaction. In this table the similarity with values was derived in a manner identical with that used in Appendix VII. Using responses from first- and second-generation respondents, a comparison was also made between sources of parental satisfaction and sources of grandparental satisfaction. This comparison was made in order to determine if the child-related items that pleased the grandparents were similar to the grand-child-related items. This comparison was based on an analysis of the responses and a subsequent determination of the number of sources of grandparental satisfaction which were similar to the sources of parental satisfaction. A similar analysis was carried out for sources of dissatisfaction.

The averages of the scores obtained in Appendix X are found in Table 18. This average was obtained in a manner similar to that used in Table 17.

TABLE 18

AVERAGE SIMILARITY BETWEEN VALUES AND SOURCES OF GRANDPARENTAL SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION

	Satisfaction:		Dissatisfaction:	
	Child	Grandchild	Values	Dissatisfaction:
Values	Satisfaction:	Grandchild	Dissatisfaction	Grandchild
Satisfaction				
Similarity	.43	.59	.47	.34

An important aspect of this information was the low number of items which grandparents reported as satisfying and especially as dis-satisfying. This may be explained by a number of factors:

1. A generation gap may exist between grandparents and grandchildren, resulting in a decrease in contact and perhaps a decrease in the salience of the grandchildren's activities.
2. While grandchildren may be important sources of satisfaction for grandparents, the specific items that grandparents are pleased with may not be as numerous as items involving children.
3. The activities of grandchildren may simply not be viewed critically and so may not be significant sources of dissatisfaction.

The degree of similarity between the values held by parents and the sources of parental satisfaction was slightly higher than the similarity between grandparental values and the sources of grandparental satisfaction. In both cases, the average similarity was slightly under 50%. This indicates that almost half of the items mentioned as sources of parental and grandparental satisfaction, were reflected in the respondent's highest ranked values.

The degree of similarity between parental values and sources of parental satisfaction was related to differences in generation, residential location, and occupation. It was not related to gender differences. The similarity for both men and women was 48%. For great-grandparents, it was 54%, for grandparents, it was 51%, and for third-generation parents, it was 38%. Among rural residents, the similarity was 57% and among urban residents, it was 43%. Among farmers, the similarity was 57%, among professionals and managers, it was 45%, and among skilled workers, it was 40%.

The degree of similarity between values and sources of grand-parental satisfaction was related to differences in generation and gender. The similarity for men was 39%, while for women, it was 44%. Among great-grandparents, it was 50%, while among grandparents it was 35%.

Before leaving the question of the relationship between values and parental satisfaction, the relationship between value similarity, and parental satisfaction must be examined. In question 7a of the interview protocol, parents were asked to rate their satisfaction with the child who was also involved in the study. Using Fisher's Z, an average correlation on terminal values was obtained for parents who were very satisfied and parents who were satisfied. The correlation for the first group was .45 and for the second, it was .5.

Generational Differences in Sources of Parental and Grandparental Satisfaction

The source of parental satisfaction most frequently mentioned by the first-generation respondents was that their children were hard-working. This item was followed by religious practice, respectability, and frequent contact with their children. These items were mentioned by seven respondents. Getting an education, having a good job, and being helpful were mentioned by six respondents.

Eight second-generation respondents mentioned their child's education as a source of parental satisfaction. This item was the most frequently mentioned for this generation and it was followed in frequency by religious practice and kindness, both of which were mentioned by seven respondents. A display of love and affection on the part of the child was mentioned by six respondents. In general, the responses by members of this generation showed greater variety and tended to be more interpersonal in nature when compared with the responses of the members from the first generation.

Seven third-generation respondents mentioned displays of love and affection as a source of satisfaction. This was the most frequent item and was followed by honesty, educational achievements, and helpfulness.

Grandparents were also asked to identify items that they found satisfying about their grandchildren. Nine grandparents from the first generation mentioned educational success. This was followed by

ambition, expressions of love and affection, helpfulness, and religious practice. Grandparents in this generation mentioned family issues, especially child-rearing methods, more frequently than second-generation grandparents. However, even among first-generation grandparents, this was not a frequently mentioned source of satisfaction.

Second-generation grandparents identified fewer items as sources of satisfaction which they derived from their grandchildren. They also identified a greater variety of items. Nine mentioned displays of love and affection. This was the most frequent item and it was followed by educational achievements, which was mentioned by five respondents.

The generational differences that are indicated may be due to the age differences in the grandchildren. The grandchildren of the first-generation grandparents were all adults, while the grandchildren of the second-generation grandparents were school-aged children.

Longitudinal Changes in Parental Satisfaction

As their children grew up, became more mature, responsive, communicative, and cooperative, 27 respondents reported that their satisfaction with their children increased. Three respondents reported a decrease and this was associated with their children's failure and, for two younger parents, with their children's increasing independence. One parent pointed out that parental satisfaction was subject to a great deal of change, depending upon the event that was being considered.

Seventeen respondents reported no change in the general level of parental satisfaction, even though there had been a great deal of fluctuation. Their satisfaction tended to remain high.

Temporary depressions in levels of parental satisfaction were reported to be common during the child's adolescence and when the child left home. Decreases were also associated with children's personal problems, especially marital and occupational failures.

Levels of Parental Satisfaction

The respondents in this study were asked to explain why they were satisfied with the items that they described as satisfying. Their responses can be categorized into three groups, based to a degree on Kohlberg's moral levels (Kohlberg, 1976). The first group, preconventional responses, will be made up of those responses which reflect a concern for avoiding punishment or obtaining rewards. An example of this group was a great-grandfather, who stated that he would "hate to have raised a family he is ashamed of or who are all gangsters."¹¹ Another example was a second-generation grandmother who stated that "these things show that they remember you and think of you."

The second group, conventional responses, will be made up of responses that reflect a desire to win social praise and recognition. An example of this group was a great-grandmother who stated that, "in doing this they are pleasing God and it is important that my children please God."¹² Another example was a second-generation grandfather who stated, "when the children do something, others

comment on it and this is pleasing."

The third group, postconventional responses, will be made up of responses which reflect a parental feeling of having given something of value to society or to the world. An example of this group was a third-generation mother who stated, "it indicates that they are picking up important things from you and when they grow up, they will be good people." Another example was a great-grandmother who stated, "These are important in our lives. If our children learn them so will their children and it is important that our grandchildren be taught these things. If they are, it means that I was successful in training my children."

These groups do not conform exactly to Kohlberg's moral levels, but they do allow distinctions to be made in the types of parental responses. Responses that cannot be placed in one of the three groups will be placed in a separate group. An example of the type of response which will be placed in this group was that of a great-grandmother who stated that, "I am satisfied because I love them and I am glad that they are doing something good."

The material in Table 19 shows the frequency distribution of the types of responses across generations. The first type, Type I, represents those responses which reflect a concern for rewards or punishments. The second type, Type II, represents those responses which reflect a concern for the opinion of others. The third type, Type III, are those responses reflecting a feeling of having given something of value to the

world. The fourth type, Type IV are responses that cannot be placed in any of the first three groups.

TABLE 19

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSE TYPES ACROSS GENERATION, GENDER, AND OCCUPATIONAL AREA

Response Types	Generation			Gender		Occupational area			Skilled Worker
	1	2	3	Male	Female	Farmer	Professional		
I	3	3	0	2	4	4	0		3
II	2	1	1	0	4	1	2		1
III	8	4	6	4	14	8	7		2
IV	4	6	9	5	14	6	6		7

The response types can be grouped according to the theoretical concepts outlined in the first chapter. Types II and III indicate concepts of social usefulness and a sense of meaningfulness. Type III indicates generativity. The information in Table 19 indicates that, for this group of respondents, generativity has been attained to some degree by members in each generation. In fact, it represents the largest identifiable group of responses in each generation. A claim, however, cannot be made that generativity has been achieved by all of the people who indicated a generative response. While the respondents indicated a sense of handing on something of value to the next generation, all of them indicated that they had also experienced disappointments with their children. Their achievement of generativity was not perfect.

The frequency of generative responses from men and women was similar. Farmers and professionals tended to give generative responses more often than skilled workers, indicating occupational differences.

The importance of social usefulness, life-meaning, and generativity in the lives of the respondents was also evident in the responses given to Interview Question 20 (Int. 20). Forty-two respondents agreed with the statement presented in the interview questions. Five disagreed.

A number of parents commented on the statement. A great-grandmother agreed with the statement because "they carry on and live the way you live and taught them." Her daughter added "you have contributed to their values and to the goodness in their lives and this is important." A third-generation father stated that he had done this "by raising four good kids who will help others and who will in turn raise good people. This expands the way we live in our family." A great-grandmother stated that "this is what life is about. If you see the fulfillment of your life in your children then your life will be worthwhile. If your children turn out bad, you will consider your life to be a failure." Her daughter added, "that is why you are here, to raise your children and give them your ideals and teach them. That is the greatest joy a parent can have, to see that their children have turned out good and that they have done a good job." A third-generation mother stated, "by raising our children we are doing something for the future, helping people who will in turn help others." Finally, a great-

grandfather stated, "what you teach them is what they have and what they are." His son added, "that is a big part of what we hope to accomplish in our lives."

Some parents qualified their agreement. A second-generation grandmother stated, "what we give them carries them through their lives and this gives us a tremendous purpose for living, though not the only one." Her daughter stated, "children are only one part of our lives and are not the whole of life, so satisfaction can come from other things as well. Children are the most important." Another third-generation mother stated, "I do what I can as a parent but if they turn out bad, I did what I could." Another third-generation mother stated, "the major source of self-fulfillment is what the person does herself. Fulfillment in the children is secondary." A third-generation father added "your first responsibility is to fulfill yourself through your work. This can be enhanced by fulfillment through your children's lives."

It is significant that virtually all of the people who qualified their responses were third-generation parents. Most of the members of this generational group, 11 in fact, did not qualify their agreement. These trends may indicate a minority trend among younger parents to seek more fulfillment and meaning from sources other than their children.

Communication Patterns

A number of differences were found when the frequency of parent-child contact was compared with satisfaction derived from helping a

child and talking about a child. Parents who saw one child at least twice a week obtained a mean satisfaction score of 4.67 (on a five-point scale) from helping a child and 4.1 from talking about a child. Parents who saw one child once a week obtained mean satisfaction scores of 4.4 and 3.8 from those activities. This indicates that parents who saw at least one child at least twice a week derived more satisfaction from helping their children and talking about their children.

An increase in the frequency of physical contact between grandparents and grandchildren was accompanied by a slight increase in the satisfaction that grandparents derived from talking about their grandchildren, and by a larger increase in the satisfaction that grandparents derived from helping their grandchildren.

The respondents were asked to describe how often they talked to others about their children. This question was asked in the questionnaire and the response was based on a five-point rating scale. The question was also asked in Interview Question 12 (Int. 12). The response mean for the question which appeared in the questionnaire was 3.44, indicating that this was a common but not a frequent activity.

A frequency distribution of the responses given to the interview question is presented in Table 20. The responses were categorized into three groups, indicating the frequency of the activity. The groups were frequent, occasional, and rare, and the data are presented according to both the response type and generation.

TABLE 20

GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE FREQUENCY
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO
INTERVIEW QUESTION 12

Generation	Talking About Children		
	Frequent	Occasional	Rare
1	7	9	12
2	6	5	4
3	11	3	2

The information in Table 20 indicates that this activity was more frequent than the questionnaire response would indicate. This was especially true when the third-generation parents were considered. While generational differences existed, gender differences did not.

Half of the great-grandparents reported that they did not enjoy talking about their children or grandchildren. When such conversations took place, they were usually with other family members, about children rather than grandchildren, and about positive rather than negative events.

About half of the second-generation grandparents also reported that they did not enjoy talking about their children or grandchildren. When such conversations took place, they were usually with other family members, or, to a lesser degree, with close friends. These conversations were usually about children and focused on both positive

and negative events.

About one-quarter of the third-generation parents reported that they did not really enjoy talking about their children. Conversations of this nature were usually with other family members, and both positive and negative aspects were discussed.

In general, older parents were reluctant to discuss the activities of their children in order to avoid creating intrafamily competition. Also, in general, negative events remained within the confines of the family.

The interview responses indicated that, except for the third-generation parents, children and grandchildren did not constitute an enjoyable topic of conversation. However, the responses to the questions in the questionnaire presented a different picture. The respondents were asked to rate the satisfaction that they derived from talking to others about the accomplishments of their children and grandchildren. This was done on a five-point scale. The response mean for the question which focused on children was 4 which indicated that the parents found that activity to be satisfying. The response mean for the question which focused on grandchildren was 4.3. This indicated that the grandparents found that talking about the accomplishments of their grandchildren was more than satisfying.

Another indication of the enjoyment experienced by the respondents as they discussed their children was evident in the smiles and enthusiasm that they expressed as they described the things that they

found satisfying in their children and grandchildren.

Conclusion

Campbell et al. (1976) and Andrews and Withey (1976) found that most people reported themselves satisfied with their families. That conclusion applies to this study as well. Researchers have also found that differences in satisfaction are related to changes in variables such as gender (Campbell et al., 1976), age (Campbell et al., 1976; Clemente, & Sauer, 1976), residence (Campbell et al., 1976), social class (Steward, 1976), occupation (Atchley, 1972), and marital status (Neugarten et al., 1971).

In this study, differences in the levels of satisfaction were found when people in different generations, genders, and residential locations were examined. Differences in levels of satisfaction were also found when various sources of satisfaction were examined.

In general, the greatest satisfaction came from helping a grandchild. This was followed by visiting a child, and then by helping a child. In general, these "offspring-related" activities generated more satisfaction than similar activities which involved siblings, parents, friends, or neighbors. This supports the argument of Campbell et al. (1976) that children are an important source of satisfaction.

Second-generation grandparents derived less satisfaction from their children than great-grandparents or third-generation parents. Men derived less satisfaction from most of the activities involving their children and grandchildren than women. Urban residents derived more

satisfaction from activities involving children that rural residents.

When activities involving grandchildren were examined, rural residents derived more satisfaction than urban residents.

Satisfaction with children is also related to family bond, proximity (satisfaction is greater with children living close by), and birth-order of the parent (a parent who is an oldest child is less satisfied with his/her children) and of the child (parents are more satisfied with oldest children).

Similarity between the highest ranking parental values and expressed parental expectations was good but decreased when satisfaction was compared with values, and decreased further when satisfaction and expectations were compared.

The similarity that was obtained from these comparisons has been deflated for a number of reasons. These include:

1. The use of an artificial cut-off point to limit the number of values examined.

2. The use of a subjective analysis of content.

3. Limited reporting by the respondents.

4. The use of a value survey which restricted the number of available items.

5. The use of unrestricted self-reports to identify parental expectations and sources of parental satisfaction.

The similarity between values and sources of parental satisfaction was strongest among first- and third-generation respondents, rural residents, and farmers. There were no gender-related

differences.

The similarity between values and sources of grandparental satisfaction was strongest among first-generation respondents and among women.

The similarity between parental values, expressed parental expectations, and expressed sources of parental satisfaction was not perfect. It was strong enough, however, to indicate that the expressed expectations which parents had of their children and the items that parents reported as satisfying tended to be reflected in the parents' values. When viewed from this perspective, an observer can argue that these parents tended to be pleased with the existence of a state of conformity between their values and the actions of their children. A direct comparison between similarity in parent-child value patterns and levels of parental satisfaction did not produce results which would support this claim. This may have been due to the following factors:

1. One of the groups used in the comparison was made up of a very small number of people. The other group was much larger.
2. The range of satisfaction scores was very restricted.

Generational differences were found when sources of parental satisfaction were examined. First-generation respondents tended to mention factors such as honesty, hard work, ambition, education, and so forth. Younger respondents, while not ignoring these factors, added expressions of love and affection, maturity, and general social

development.

The respondents tended to describe their parental satisfaction in terms which reflected the concepts of social usefulness, generativity and life-meaning. In fact, responses reflecting the concept of generativity were given by parents from all three generational groups although these responses were more typical of parents in the first and third generations, farmers, and professionals. The importance of these concepts was also indicated by the responses which were given to Interview Question 20.

Although this was not a longitudinal study, most respondents reported that their satisfaction with their children increased as their children got older. Fluctuations, however, were common and decreases were usually related to the child's developmental stage.

Puner (1974) found that parents enjoyed talking about their children. He also reported that this was usually an intrafamily activity and one which older parents engaged in with a great deal of fondness. In this study, the results were not as clear.

In answering the questionnaire items, the respondents indicated that they talked to others about their children's accomplishments more than "once in a while" but less than "often." The responses to the interview question confirmed that this was not a frequent topic of conversation, at least among the two older generations. It was, however, with the younger respondents. The interview responses also indicated

that this was an intrafamily activity, although it involved nonfamily participants.

When satisfaction or enjoyment was considered, the picture was more confusing as the interview material indicated less enjoyment than the questionnaire data, especially for the first two generations. However, the nonverbal responses to the interview questions indicated that the satisfaction of the older generations may have been masked and may have been greater than expressed.

These trends can be summarized as follows:

1. In general, the respondents were satisfied with their families.
2. Children and grandchildren were important sources of satisfaction for parents and grandparents.
3. Differences in satisfaction levels were related to differences in activities and to the personal and situational differences found among the respondents.
4. The similarity between parental values, expressed parental expectations, and expressed sources of parental satisfaction was not exceptional but it indicated that satisfying items tended to be valued items.
5. Parents tended to justify their satisfaction with reasons which reflected the concept of generativity but which also included the concepts of social usefulness and life-meaning.
6. There were indications that the respondents enjoyed talking about their children and grandchildren.
7. Parents reported that their satisfaction increased as their children got older.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Descriptive Summary

The object of this study was to describe a number of areas relating to the satisfaction that parents derived from their children. The study was based on a sample of 58 individuals in 18 family groups.

The central focus of this study was on the translation of parental values into parental expectations, and on the satisfaction that a parent derives from perceiving the existence of a state of conformity between these value-laden expectations and the behavior of a child.

When parental perceptions were used, that is, when parents were asked if their children were absorbing their values and if their children were living up to their expectations, most parents gave an affirmative response, and most of these parents also reported that they were very satisfied with their children.

A similarity was also established between parental values, expressed parental expectations, and expressed sources of parental satisfaction. This index of similarity shows that reported sources of satisfaction tended to be reflected in reported values.

When a comparison was made between an objective measure of the similarity existing between the value pattern of a parent and the

value pattern of a child, and a parental rating of satisfaction with that child, the relationship was found to be slightly negative. That is, similarity in value patterns was stronger in dyads in which parents expressed less satisfaction with their child.

Expressions of parental satisfaction were also examined in order to determine if this satisfaction was expressed in terms which conveyed the concepts of social usefulness, generativity, and life-meaning. An attempt was made to categorize expressions of satisfaction into preconventional, conventional, and postconventional groups. Some expressions of satisfaction could not be categorized in this way but, of those that could be, most indicated concerns relating to social usefulness, generativity and meaningfulness. This trend was strongest among parents in the first and third generations.

While most of the expressions of satisfaction that could be categorized reflected the concept of generativity and implied the concepts of social usefulness and life-meaning, it was clear that the issue of generativity was not perfectly resolved. Parents, regardless of their generation, were still being disappointed and their contributions were still being refused.

The general areas of parental values, parental expectations, and sources of parental satisfaction were also examined. An important focus of this examination was on the similarity between the values of a parent and those of a child. Based upon both self-reports, and upon a more objective analysis, the existence of this similarity

was confirmed. The objective analysis, however, indicated that the similarity was not perfect. In fact, it was subject to wide fluctuations. When similarity in value patterns between a parent and a child was examined at an interdyadic level, similarity was found to be related to a number of variables. Similarity was stronger when the analysis focused upon terminal values, when adjacent generations (excluding the fourth generation) were examined, and when the dyad was an all-female (especially mother-daughter) dyad. At an intra-family level of analysis, a slight negative relationship was found between value similarity and changes in occupational area, residential area, and religion. Value similarity was also found to be positively related to the gender composition of the family group. The strongest similarity was found in all-female family groups. Value similarity was not related to the strength of the interpersonal relationships within the family when the analysis was based on all of the families.

Another focus was upon the mode whereby value similarity was developed. Most parents claimed that value similarity existed. First-generation respondents felt that value similarity developed through a combination of teaching and the use of consequences, especially punishment. Second- and third-generation respondents felt that value similarity developed through a combination of example, instructions, and explanations. Third-generation respondents downplayed the role of consequences.

A final focus related to the scope of intrafamily value similarity.

Was there a similarity in value patterns between grandparents and grandchildren? Similarity within this group of dyads existed but it was strongest when the grandchildren were adults.

Parental expectations were also examined and described. The most important focus in this area related to the degree of similarity that existed between parental values and expressed parental expectations. This similarity was established by using both the respondent's reports and an observer rating. Moderate similarity was found. A number of reasons may account for the lack of greater similarity:

1. The values were derived from structured lists while the expectations were based on self-reports and came from a larger item population.
2. An artificial cut-off point was used to terminate the analysis of the values.
3. The values were based on beliefs while the expectations had behavioral components.
4. Differences may have existed in the understanding of different values.
5. Respondents were asked to report past rather than present expectations. That is, expectations which they had when their children were young. These may have changed.
6. Subjective comparisons were used.

The measure of similarity that was obtained may have been a minimal measure.

This similarity was strongest among first- and third-generation respondents and among professionals. Differences related to gender

or residential location were minimal.

Most respondents indicated that their expectations were based on their values and that the expectations which they had of their children were being fulfilled. The largest group of respondents indicating that their expectations were not being fulfilled by their children, were third-generation parents.

Children's fulfillment of their parent's expectations was positively related to a number of variables. Frequent parent-child contact, open parent-child communication, and a strong parent-child bond, were all related to an increase in the likelihood that parents would report that the expectations which they had of their children were being met.

Differences were also found in the type of expectations that the respondents had of their children. Most of the parental expectations voiced by the respondents focused on external behaviors and were related to instrumental values. Expectations relating to inner dispositions such as happiness, were held by younger, third-generation parents. However, this type of expectation was rarely mentioned. Other differences in the type of parental expectations were found between occupational and residential groups, and between men and women.

Terminal values, the most reliable group of values and the values used as a basis for the value analysis in this study, were rarely reflected in the expressed parental expectations or in the expressed sources of parental satisfaction. They were reflected in the reasons

given to justify the satisfaction. This pattern may be explained by the fact that instrumental values were very visible and easily focused upon. Consequently, they influenced the initial responses. The respondents used terminal values when they were called upon to justify their initial expressions of satisfaction.

Parental satisfaction was also examined and an important focus concerned the similarity between expressed parental values and reported sources of parental satisfaction. Using an analysis of content, a similarity was found; however, it was weaker than the similarity between parental values and expressed parental expectations and stronger than the similarity between expressed parental expectations and reported sources of parental satisfaction.

The similarity between values and sources of parental satisfaction was strongest among respondents who were great-grandparents, farmers, and rural residents. It was weakest among respondents who were third-generation parents, urban residents, and skilled workers.

Another focus was upon differences in the sources of satisfaction. In general, the respondents derived more satisfaction from their children and grandchildren than from other sources listed in the questionnaire. Differences were found in the levels of satisfaction derived from specific sources. Differences in satisfaction levels were related to differences in parent-child communications, birth-order, and gender. Men were more likely to rate their general parental satisfaction higher than women. Women, however, rated the satisfaction

derived from specific activities involving children and grandchildren higher than men. Oldest children, perhaps in keeping with their strong sense of responsibility, derived more satisfaction from teaching their children and helping their parents, than other children. They were also more satisfying. Parents who were in frequent contact with their children expressed more satisfaction with their children than parents who were not.

Most parents reported that satisfaction with their children increased over the years. The remainder reported that their satisfaction was always high.

Many of the respondents in the interview sessions, used terms reflecting the concepts of social usefulness, generativity, and life-meaning interchangeably even though these concepts do not mean the same thing. This confusion may indicate that, in the minds of these respondents at least, these concepts were inter-related. This interrelatedness, however, was not as important as the fact that the respondents regarded these concerns as vital to the role of parenting.

The similarity established between parental values, parental expectations, reported sources of parental satisfaction, and reasons for parental satisfaction allows the argument to be advanced that social usefulness, generativity, and life-meaning can be placed within the context of value similarity. That is, the respondents felt socially useful and generative, and saw meaning in their lives when they saw the values that regulated their lives, regulating the lives of their children.

Suggested Hypotheses

This study is important for two reasons. First of all, it has provided an initial description which can be used as a comparison and guide for future studies. Secondly, it has generated a number of important hypotheses. These are grouped and listed below.

Values

1. The similarity in value patterns between individuals within a family is greater than the similarity between individuals within a social class, age group, or gender group.
2. The similarity in value patterns between individuals within a family decreases when a change in social class or religion takes place in the family.
3. A strong family bond enhances the freedom of individuals within a family to be different from one another.
4. A weak family bond is related to an increase in dissimilarity in value patterns between individuals within a family, especially in geographical areas undergoing extensive social change.
5. Within a family, women are the most important sources of value transmission.
6. Adolescence is a period of experimentation and turmoil in an individual's value system.
7. The end of adolescence is marked by a return to the values of that individual's family. This return, however, is not complete.
8. A change in value patterns takes place between each generation.
9. Similarity between the values of a parent and the values of his or her child exists because values are transmitted from the parent to the child.
10. Values are transmitted from a parent to a child through modeling and through the use of explanations.

Expectations

1. The expectations that a parent has of a child are based on that parent's values.
 2. The expectations that a parent has of a child differ across age groups, genders, and social classes.
 3. The expectations that a parent has of a child change over the life-span of the parent-child relationship.
 4. The expectations that parents have of their children primarily focus on ethical behaviors and achievements.
 5. Young parents with children still at home have expectations of their children which are more unrealistic than the expectations of older parents.
 6. Young parents are more critical of their children than older parents.
 7. As parents get older, hope-filled criticism of their children changes to disappointment, and then to resignation.
 8. The expectations that a parent has of his or her child are fulfilled when there is a strong family bond, frequent contact and open communication between the parent and the child, and when the parent is successful in teaching the child.
- ### Satisfaction
1. An individual's family of procreation is that individual's most salient source of satisfaction.
 2. Sources of satisfaction differ when individuals of different generations, genders, and social classes are examined.
 3. Fathers express greater satisfaction with their children than mothers express. This is related to a lack of contact between fathers and their children.
 4. The satisfaction that a parent derives from his or her child increases with the age of the child.
 5. Sources of satisfaction that a parent derives from a child are satisfying to the parent because they are based on the values of that parent.

The oldest child

1. The oldest child is more responsible, than other children, toward his or her parents.
2. A parent who is an oldest child is more critical of his or her own children than is a parent who is not an oldest child.
3. Parents derive more satisfaction from an oldest child than they derive from other children.

Generativity

1. Parents express satisfaction with their children when they see their values reflected in their children's lives. Their satisfaction is based on a belief that they have given something important to their children.
2. Generativity is a salient issue in the lives of parents.
3. Generativity is an issue in the lives of parents in every age group and it is an issue that is rarely resolved perfectly.

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APPENDIX I
QUESTIONNAIRE

Biographical Data

DATE OF BIRTH _____
 DATE OF MARRIAGE _____

FEMALE _____
 MALE _____

OCCUPATION _____
 OCCUPATION OF SPOUSE _____
 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND _____

RAISED (spent most of my childhood): FARM VILLAGE TOWN CITY
 LIVED MOST OF MY ADULT LIFE: FARM VILLAGE TOWN CITY

SINGLE	RE LIGION
MARRIED	RE LIGION OF FAMILY OF ORIGIN
WIDOWED	RE LIGION OF FAMILY OF PROCREATION
DIVORCED	_____

PROVINCE OF BIRTH _____

HOW CLOSE DOES.....(the child to be interviewed) LIVE TO YOU?

- a) within a few (5) miles b) between 5 and 60 miles c) between 60 and 120 miles d) over 120 miles but within the province e) outside the province

ARE YOU A GREAT GRANDPARENT	_____
GRANDPARENT	_____
PARENT	_____
CHILD	_____

AS A CHILD, WHAT WAS YOUR BIRTH POSITION IN YOUR FAMILY?

INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME OR IN ANY OTHER WAY IDENTIFY YOURSELF IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. ALL OF YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE REGARDED AS EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL, AND I WOULD REQUEST THAT YOU DO NOT DISCUSS ANY PORTION OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE OR OF THE INTERVIEW, WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY UNTIL I HAVE INTERVIEWED THE SPECIFIED PEOPLE.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP, THE INFORMATION THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN ME HAS BEEN VERY VALUABLE.

Value Survey

Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. We are interested in finding out the relative importance of these values for you.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important to you, etc. The value which is least important, relative to the others, should be ranked 18.

When you have completed ranking all the values, go back and check over your list. Please take all the time that you need to think about this, so that the end result is a true representation of your values.

- _____ A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
- _____ AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
- _____ A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
- _____ A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
- _____ A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
- _____ EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
- _____ FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
- _____ FREEDOM (independence, free choice)
- _____ HAPPINESS (contentedness)
- _____ INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)
- _____ MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
- _____ NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)
- _____ PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
- _____ SALVATION (saved, eternal life)
- _____ SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)
- _____ SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
- _____ TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
- _____ WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

Below is a list of another 18 values. Rank these in order of importance in the same way you ranked the first list on the preceding page.

- _____ AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)
- _____ BROADMINDED (open-minded)
- _____ CAPABLE (competent, effective)
- _____ CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)
- _____ CLEAN (neat, tidy)
- _____ COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)
- _____ FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)
- _____ HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)
- _____ HONEST (sincere, truthful)
- _____ IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)
- _____ INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
- _____ INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)
- _____ LOGICAL (consistent, rational)
- _____ LOVING (affectionate, tender)
- _____ OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)
- _____ POLITE (courteous, well-mannered)
- _____ RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)
- _____ SELF-CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)

Some of these values may be difficult to understand. Did you find some of them confusing?

Which ones?

Activities Scale

Please tell me how often you are involved in the following activities and how much satisfaction you derive from them. When you rate frequency use 1 or never, 2 for very rarely, 3 for once in a while, 4 for often, and 5 for very often. When you rate satisfaction, use 1 for very dissatisfying, 2 for dissatisfying, 3 for neither satisfying or dissatisfying, 4 for satisfying, and 5 for very satisfying. Circle the correct number.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Satisfaction</u>
1. shopping	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
2. helping a brother or a sister	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
3. being able to do the things you want to do	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
4. going for a medical check-up and being told that you are healthy	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
5. going to nightclubs or bars	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
6. visiting a brother or sister	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
7. talking to others about your grandchild's accomplishments	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
8. going to fairs or exhibitions	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
9. visiting a neighbor	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
10. avoiding going to work	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
11. visiting a good friend	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
12. helping a parent	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
13. teaching one of the grandchildren	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
14. watching a sports event on T.V.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
15. visiting one of your grandchildren	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
16. helping a neighbor	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
17. going to a sports event	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Satisfaction</u>
18.	making or fixing things around the house	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
19.	working at a favorite hobby	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
20.	going to church	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
21.	teaching one of your children	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
22.	helping one of your grandchildren	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
23.	talking to others about your brothers' or sister's accomplishments	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
24.	talking to others about your accomplishments	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
25.	going to the movies	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
26.	talking to others about your child's accomplishments	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
27.	gardening or working around the yard .	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
28.	helping one of your children	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
29.	visiting one of your children	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
30.	going on picnics or pleasure drives...	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
31.	visiting a parent	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
32.	going to a club meeting	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
33.	helping a friend	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
34.	reading a good book	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX II
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

VALUES:

1. When we look at people's lives, certain characteristics stand out, and among these are values or long-standing beliefs that affect a person's way of life. What were the important values in the life of your mother and in the life of your father?

2. a) Do you feel that your children are picking up your values?
 b) Which ones are being picked up? Which ones are not being acquired as well as you might like them to be?
 c) Can you describe how your children acquire your values?

EXPECTATIONS:

3. Parents often have hopes, dreams, and expectations regarding their children. What are some of the expectations that you have of your sons and of your daughters.

4. Often parental expectations are based on parental values. Would you say that some of the expectations that you have of your children are based on your values?

5. a) Do your children now act the way you expect them to act?
 b) In what way do they, and in what way do they not?

6. One of the first things that parents would say about their children is that they are different, with different abilities, different strong points that parents are proud of and other points that parents might be a bit disappointed in. I would like you to describe the following people in these terms:

Your oldest son

Your second oldest son

Your oldest daughter

Your second oldest daughter

SATISFACTION:

7. Often people are satisfied with different people and different things, but they are satisfied in different ways and to different degrees. Please rate your satisfaction for the following using 1 for very dissatisfying, 2 for dissatisfying, 3 for neither satisfying or dissatisfying, 4 for satisfying, and 5 for very satisfying:
 - a) The child to be interviewed 1 2 3 4 5

- b) Your children in general 1 2 3 4 5
8. In what ways has your satisfaction with your sons changed over the years? In what areas has this change taken place, and what direction? Has it increased or decreased?
9. Answer the same question about your daughters.
10. In some families, grandparents seem to be closer to their grandchildren than to their children. Would you say that this is the case in your family? If the answer is "yes" please explain.
11. Please list a number of things about your children or that your children have done that have brought you satisfaction. Why do these bring you satisfaction?
12. These things are very important in your life and other people may be interested in them. Do you tell others about them? To whom do you mention these? Who would you not mention them to? Would you mention negative items as well as good items? Would you talk about children more than grandchildren?
13. Please list a number of things that your grandchildren have done that have brought you satisfaction. Why have these been satisfying?
14. Now, lets talk about things that are annoying. A lot of times, children do things that annoy their parents. What are some of the things about your children or that your children have done that annoy you? Why are these annoying? Answer the same for your grandchildren.
15. a) Do your children know the things that please you?
b) Do you tell them?
c) Do you tell them even if you think that they know?
16. a) Do your children know the things that displease you?
b) Do you tell them?
c) Do you tell them even if you think that they know?
17. How often do you see your children? a) twice a week or more
b) once a week c) twice a month d) once a month e) less than once a month. How enjoyable are their visits? a) very enjoyable
b) enjoyable c) neither enjoyable or unenjoyable d) unenjoyable
e) very unenjoyable.
18. How often do you see your grandchildren? a) twice a week

- b) once a week c) twice a month d) once a month e) less than once a month. How enjoyable are their visits? a) very enjoyable b) enjoyable c) neither enjoyable or unenjoyable d) unenjoyable e) very unenjoyable.
19. a) Do your children tell you what is happening in their families (or lives)?
b) Do your grandchildren tell you?
c) Do they tell you the bad news as well as the good news?
d) Are they more reluctant to tell you the bad than the good?
e) Do you think that you should be told what is happening in your family? Why?
20. Some people claim that parents find their lives meaningful, and worthwhile, and purposeful, when they are able to look back over their lives and at the lives of their children and, in the lives of their children, to see that their own lives as parents have had purpose, and that in the lives of their children, they as parents have contributed something of value to the next generation. Would you agree with that? Is that a pretty good description of how you feel?

APPENDIX III
DESCRIPTION OF FAMILY GROUPS
ON SEVERAL VARIABLES

Family	Bond	Generations	Gender Shift	Occupation Shift	Urban-Rural Shift	Religion Shift	Oldest Children	Oldest Son	Proximity
1	78.5	4	yes	yes	yes	yes	3	1	far
2	81.67	3	no	yes	yes	yes	1	0	close
3	75.75	4	yes	yes	yes	no	2	1	far
4	82	3	yes	yes	yes	no	0	0	far
5	79.6	3	no	no	no	no	0	0	close
6	84.75	4	yes	yes	yes	yes	1	1	far
7	83	3	yes	yes	no	no	1	0	close
8	69.3	3	yes	no	no	no	0	0	close
9	80.3	3	no	yes	yes	no	1	0	far
10	77	3	yes	yes	yes	yes	2	1	close
11	90.6	3	no	yes	yes	no	1	0	close
12	84.3	3	yes	yes	no	yes	1	1	close
13	77.3	4	yes	yes	yes	no	2	2	close
14	81.6	3	no	yes	yes	no	1	0	far
15	83	3	no	no	yes	no	2	0	close
16	82.6	4	yes	yes	yes	no	3	2	close
17	84.5	2	no	no	no	no	0	0	close
18		3	no	yes	no	no	0	0	close

APPENDIX IV

SIMILARITY ON TERMINAL (T) AND INSTRUMENTAL (I)
VALUES FOR INTERGENERATIONAL DYADS IN
FAMILIES 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 16, and 18

INTERGENERATIONAL DYAD: GENERATION

Family	$\frac{1-2}{T \ I}$		$\frac{2-3}{T \ I}$		$\frac{1-3}{T \ I}$		$\frac{3-4}{T \ I}$		$\frac{2-4}{T \ I}$		$\frac{1-4}{T \ I}$	
	T	I	T	I	T	I	T	I	T	I	T	I
1	-.07	.48	.82	-.13	.07	-.11	-.2	.11	-.16	.46	-.34	.31
2	.41	.16	.69	.54	.57	.57	.54					
4	.44	.37	.25	.47	.15	.15	.43					
5	.6	.52	.55	.26	.67	.36						
8	.06	-.14	.02	.0	.3	.07						
9	.38	.44	.55	.52	.29	.5						
16	.51	.33	.68	.37	.59	.09	.51	.42	.27	.03	.14	-.25
18	.63	-.37	.8	.41	.56	.11						

APPENDIX V

COMPARISON OF THE INSTRUMENTAL AND
TERMINAL VALUES OF RESPONDENTS
OF GENERATION ONE WITH
THE VALUES OF THEIR PARENTS

			Instrumental Values	Parental Values	Similarity
Family	Terminal Values				
1	national security	broadminded	getting along with others	2 of 2	
	family security	forgiving	honesty		
	comfortable life	honest			
	world of peace	responsible			
	true friendship	obedient			
	sense of accom- lishment	ambitious			
2	family security	honest	honesty	4 of 4	
	comfortable life	cheerful	respect for elders		
	happiness	independent	salvation		
	true friendship	loving	obedience		
	freedom	obedient			
	salvation	responsible			
3	happiness	helpful	caring for family	3 of 3	
	family security	honest ambitious	honesty		
	true friendship	polite	capability		
	pleasure	cheerful			
	inner harmony	forgiving			
	comfortable life				

Family	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values	Parental Values	Similarity
4	freedom inner harmony equality family security happiness self-respect	broadminded forgiving helpful honest loving obedient	salvation hardworking responsibility 	0 of 3
5	freedom family security happiness inner harmony mature love self-respect	polite honest helpful clean self-controlled responsible	obedient honesty salvation responsibility 	2 of 4
6	INSUFFICIENT DATA			
7	salvation family security equality inner harmony sense of accom- plishment freedom	honest capable loving logical intellectual clean	honesty responsibility hardworking dependability religion love	3 of 6

Family	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values	Parental Values	Similarity
8	salvation	courageous	hardworking	2 of 4
	world at peace	forgiving	helpfulness	
	happiness	cheerful	obedience	
	sense of accom- plishment	helpful	religion	
	equality	honest		
	inner harmony	clean		
9	salvation	helpful	hardworking	3 of 4
	family security	ambitious	respectability	
	self-respect	honest	family security	
	happiness	capable	religion	
	true friendship	loving		
	sense of accom- plishment	obedient		
10	salvation	ambitious	salvation	4 of 5
	happiness	courageous	happiness	
	family security	honest	obedience	
	social recogni- tion	obedient	creativity	
	self-respect	intellectual	family security	
	comfortable life	capable		

Family	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values		Parental Values	Similarity
11	self-respect	honest		honesty	2 of 3
	salvation	clean		hardworking	
	wisdom	ambitious		conviviality	
	true friendship	courageous			
	world at peace	forgiving			
	sense of accomplishment	helpful			
12	salvation	honest		salvation	4 of 6
	family security	forgiving		hardworking	
	world at peace	loving		family security	
	happiness	polite		equality	
	mature love	ambitious		obedience	
	self-respect	self-control-led	love		
13	salvation	ambitious		honesty	3 of 5
	self-respect	courageous		generosity	
	family security	forgiving		obedience	
	world peace	honest		religion	
	social recognition	responsible		thrift	
	mature love	polite			

		Instrumental Values	Parental Values	Similarity
Family	Terminal Values			
14	INCOMPLETE DATA			
15	salvation	forgiving	hardworking	1 of 3
	world at peace	courageous	capable	
	inner harmony	honest	salvation	
	happiness	cheerful		
	sense of accom- plishment	independent		
	world of beauty	loving		
16	salvation	forgiving	family security	5 of 6
	family security	obedient	salvation	
	inner harmony	honest	self-respect	
	freedom	responsible	obedience	
	sense of accom- plishment	broadminded	hardworking	
	self-respect	helpful	helpfulness	
17	salvation	obedient	religion	5 of 5
	family security	honest	obedience	
	wisdom	responsible	wisdom	
	freedom	self-control- led	honesty	
	happiness	ambitious	ambition	
	true friendship	forgiving		

Family	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values		Parental Values	Similarity
18	salvation	helpful		obedience	1 of 4
	family security	honest		hardworking	
	world peace	clean		respectfulness	
	sense of accomplishment	loving		capability	
	freedom	obedient			
	happiness	independent			

APPENDIX VI

PARENTAL VALUES, PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS,
AND SOURCES OF PARENTAL SATISFACTION,
AND DISSATISFACTION

FAMILY: GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
1:1	National Security Family Security Comfortable Life World at Peace True Friendship	Broadminded Forgiving Honest Responsible Obedient Ambitious	to take up sports to get an education to be thrifty to be independent	have a good education make a good living raised hardworking kids have a trade	are divorced are spoiling their children are inconsistent in training their children
1:2	Salvation Wisdom True Friendship Inner Harmony Mature Love Self-respect	Honest Broadminded Forgiving Helpful Cheerful Loving	to get an education to be responsible to be happy to be open to new experiences to be inquisitive	are thoughtful are respectful are responsible are good hearted are cooperative	don't use common sense are overly dependent lack control over temper
1:3	Inner Harmony Salvation Self-respect Wisdom Family Security Mature Love	Honest Independent Courageous Loving Responsible Self-Control	to be honest and reliable to be responsible to follow traditional family roles to get an education	have scholastic ability doing well in hobbies are polite are honest are cooperative	respect their parents are obedient and honest have a good education have families are artistic
2:1	Family Security Comfortable Life Happiness True Friendship Freedom Salvation	Honest Cheerful Independent Loving Obedient Responsible	to get an education to be responsible citizens to have a family and support it to be respectful	were dishonest skipped school went to war	were dishonest were responsive are not religious are dishonest
2:2	Family Security Self-respect Happiness Wisdom Comfortable Life Sense of Accomplishment	Honest Responsible Courageous Broadminded Polite Self-Controlled	to get an education to develop their capabilities to do a good job to know right from wrong to be honest to follow traditional family roles	completed their education achieved academic awards teach the disabled are thoughtful are athletic	are not neat and tidy are not responsive are not religious are dishonest

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
2:3	Family Security Happiness True Friendship Comfortable Life Mature Love Wisdom	Honest Loving Forgiving Cheerful Polite Helpful	to do a good job to care for others to give of oneself to be reliable	are independent are honest, and cooperative are adjusted and hardworking are performing to the best of their ability are achieving academic success on their own initiative	are not working to their potential are questioning their responsibility
3:1	Happiness Family Security True Friendship Pleasure Inner Harmony Comfortable Life	Helpful Honest Ambitious Polite Cheerful Forgiving	having a good marriage raised children well taught children to be honest are happy are hardworking are good living are helpful	have poor marriages are disobedient do not do things right	are lazy are not neat and tidy are irresponsible
3:2	Family Security Happiness Pleasure Salvation Social Recognition True Friendship	Honest Helpful Clean Ambitious Broadminded Capable	to be honest to be hardworking	they visit are helpful and respectful are law abiding and respectable are hardworking	are lazy are not neat and tidy are irresponsible
3:3	Family Security Happiness World of Beauty Wisdom Pleasure Sense of Accomplishment	Honest Forgiving Ambitious Loving Intellectual Obedient	to be happy and honest to be understanding with their family and pro- vide for them to get an education to live comfortable lives to be understanding	are honest and hardworking are helpful and kind are cooperative are happy with what they are doing are considerate	not going to church spending too much money use bad language not neat and tidy too oriented to parties

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
4:1	Freedom Inner Harmony Equality Family Security Happiness Self-respect	Broadminded Forgiving Helpful Honest Loving Obedient	to be a success in life to get an education to have clean habits to be honest	are involved in church work have paid off debts are responsible and honest	do not take care of their things
4:2	Inner Harmony Happiness Self-respect Mature Love Family Security Equality	Helpful Honest Responsible Forgiving Cheerful Loving	to be honest to be involved with the church to be empathetic to be loving and considerate of others to live a rounded life to have a family	are involved in church work raised their children well are obedient and helpful are considerate and loving	having bad marriages avoid responsibility are not neat and tidy are disobedient are not respectful
4:3	Family Security Salvation Freedom Mature Love Inner Harmony Sense of Accomplishment	Capable Forgiving Helpful Honest Independent Loving	to believe in what the parents believe in to be empathetic, honest, and responsible to take care of their family to choose an occupational goal and follow it	are obedient and honest accept responsibility for their actions to things without being told are thoughtful and loving are charitable	are slow to respond are dishonest
5:1	Freedom Family Security Happiness Inner Harmony Mature Love Self-respect	Self-control Responsible Polite Honest Helpful Clean	to choose what they want to be and do it well to have a good life to be respectable to be compatible to practice their religion	are involved in the church have families support their parents visit their parents show love and affection	are untidy married outside the church
5:2	Salvation Inner Harmony Self-respect Sense of Accomplishment Self-respect	Obedient Honest Self-controlled Forgiving Courageous Loving	to get an education to marry in the church to support their families to have attractive personalities to like people	are involved in the church have large families are artistic achieved academic and financial success	not being financially responsible or thrifty being dishonest not taking obligations as seriously as they should

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
5:3	Salvation Freedom Happiness Self-respect True Friendship Family Security	Honest Responsible Intellectual Independent Loving Polite	to be financially secure girls to marry good men to be happy to practice their religion to be artistic boys to have a trade or profession to teach their children to be honest	are helpful and cooperative are neat and tidy are concerned for others achieved academic success are happy	pestering others use bad language not being helpful or responsible
6:1	World at Peace Self-respect Salvation Sense of Accomplishment Inner Harmony Wisdom	Forgiving Helpful Loving Honest Imaginative Courageous		are considerate accept parental advice are helpful are communicative have accomplished goals	
6:2	Happiness Comfortable Life Mature Love Pleasure Wisdom Self-respect	Responsible Clean Forgiving Capable Cheerful Honest	to be obedient to get an education to do well at work girls to enjoy life before marriage	are communicative are thoughtful and considerate have good jobs	are disobedient are not courteous
6:3	Self-respect Social Recognition Wisdom Sense of Accomplishment Family Security Inner Harmony	Responsible Honest Logical Self-controlled Capable Ambitious	to have a good job to marry and have a family to look after their family to be involved in their church to get an education to be competent, honest, hardworking, and responsible	graduated from university are artistic are active in the church are self-controlled	lack persistence are impatient quit school fight are not neat and tidy

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
7:1	Salvation Family Security Equality Inner Harmony Sense of Accomplishment Freedom	Honest Capable Loving Logical Intellectual Clean	to get an education to be obedient to live an upright, moral, clean life to have social and religious involvement to do things with their families	are reliable and have strong characters are humorous, happy and friendly have attained their goals are good housekeepers take care of their family and teach their children	not practicing their religion
7:2	Family Security Self-respect Wisdom Sense of Accomplishment True Friendship Freedom	Forgiving Obedient Loving Responsible Honest Broadminded	to get an education to be honest and live clean moral lives to treat others with respect and to be respectable to be happy and at peace with oneself	excel in school, sports and work are involved in the church have achieved educational goals are outgoing support their families	disobedience and a lack of cooperation not communicative not affectionate
7:3	Happiness Comfortable Life Family Security Mature Love True Friendship Wisdom	Responsible Honest Self-controlled Loving Ambitious Clean	to get an education to have the things they want to set their own goals and make their own decisions to be hardworking and artistic to be cooperative and persistent to practice their religion	are happy and responsive are observant are affectionate	playing rough disobedience crying
8:1	Salvation World at Peace Happiness Sense of Accomplishment Equality Inner Harmony	Courageous Forgiving Cheerful Helpful Honest Clean	to get an education to practice their religion to be polite and respectful of self and others to be helpful and good to people to be kind, honest, and well-mannered	are thoughtful and helpful are loving and affectionate enjoy themselves care for their family got an education practice their religion	alcoholic problems disobedience talks about family problems in public

FAMILY: GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
8:2	Family Security Self-respect Mature Love Sense of Accomplishment Equality Social Recognition	Responsible Capable Ambitious Courageous Broadminded Honest	to be happy and successful to practice their religion to respect themselves and others	are happy got an education respect their parents and grandparents accept others are helpful	do not go to church influenced by peers not responsible and hard-working not neat, clean or tidy
9:1	Salvation Family Security Self-respect Happiness True Friendship Sense of Accomplishment	Helpful Ambitious Honest Capable Loving Obedient	to be hardworking and have good jobs to live comfortable lives to practice their religion	are hardworking live close to home are thrifty and sharp in business are helpful are loving and affectionate	are disobedient and disrespectful are not loving or affectionate do not raise their children properly
9:2	Salvation Freedom True Friendship Wisdom Family Security Self-respect	Loving Cheerful Broadminded Helpful Forgiving Clean	to be happy to be honest and respectful to be obedient to be hardworking	are loving and affectionate are honest and trusting are happy have families are communicative	not practicing religion not married provoking arguments have poor manners and are untidy too independent and disobedient
9:3	Salvation Wisdom Inner Harmony Self-respect Happiness Comfortable Life	Loving Forgiving Honest Responsible Polite Clean	to be happy to get an education to live comfortable lives to be respectable	received a citizenship award are interested in their religion show love and affection show gratitude are honest are appreciative	are not neat and clean are too controlled and reserved are sloppy girl's rough and tumble behavior

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
10:1	Salvation Happiness Family Security Social Recognition Self-respect Comfortable Life	Ambitious Courageous Honest Obedient Intellectual Capable	to develop artistic talents to practice their religion to get an education to follow the commandments	are accomplished in music respect their parents are helpful and considerate have good jobs and are hardworking practice their religion	getting into arguments
10:2	Salvation Sense of Accomplishment Family Security Mature Love Self-respect Wisdom	Honest Ambitious Responsible Imaginative Independent Courageous	to achieve their potential to excell in what they do to have a career and a family to be honest, responsible, helpful and morally clean	express love and affection appreciate parental example and help desire an education are hardworking and honest practice their religion	critical of one another playing practical jokes
10:3	Family Security Sense of Accomplishment Happiness True Friendship Inner Harmony Mature Love	Responsible Cheerful Honest Loving Broadminded Logical	to be happy to choose what they want to do and be good at it to be broadminded and independent to desire to learn	are cooperative are helpful and obedient are inquisitive are communicative are loving and affectionate	fighting disobedient perseverance in bothering their parents
11:1	Self-respect Salvation Wisdom True Friendship World at Peace Sense of Accomplishment	Honest Clean Ambitious Courageous Forgiving Helpful	to be hardworking and respectable to be honest to get an education	are hardworking, competent, responsible, and honest are helpful are communicative are respectable and good citizens	are not thrifty are disobedient and rebellious have bad habits
11:2	Happiness World at Peace Salvation Family Security Equality True Friendship	Honest Loving Responsible Helpful Forgiving Capable	to be obedient to be respectable to have good clean morals	are helpful and generous are considerate and respectful have happy families got an education	not strict enough with their children are disobedient

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
11:3	Happiness Inner Harmony Family Security Self-respect True Friendship Social Recognition	Independent Cheerful Imaginative Helpful Broadminded Capable	to develop and mature to become whole persons to have inner peace and self-worth to be happy doing what they are doing to accept and be accepted for what they are to have families	participate in family activities Show love and affection are developing competency	disobedient and disrespectful do not cooperate fighting being late or slow
12:1	Salvation Family Security World at Peace Happiness Mature Love Self-respect	Honest Forgiving Loving . Polite Ambitious Self-controlled	to be obedient and respectful to be hardworking and respectable to live close to home	are communicative are helpful show love and affection have good jobs	lack self-control disobedience have bad habits make too much noise
12:2	Happiness Self-respect Family Security Wisdom World of Peace Freedom	Honest Loving Clean Cheerful Forgiving Responsible	to be communicative with parents to be law-abiding to have a family and care for it to be happy to get an education to do as well as possible	attained academic success are happy and outgoing are hardworking are sensitive and considerate	not respectful
12:3	Self-respect Inner Harmony World of Peace Wisdom World of Beauty	Loving Honest Ambitious Broadminded Intellectual Responsible	to be honest to be loving and happy to value life to get an education	are polite and obedient are sincere and honest are kind and sensitive are loving and affectionate practice their religion	fighting overeating being impolite and lacking good manners nagging and tattling

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
13:1	Salvation Self-respect Family Security World at Peace Social Recognition Mature Love	Ambitious Courageous Forgiving Honest Responsible Polite	to practice their religion to be successful to have a family and support it to be respectable to be honest and hardworking	practice their religion are helpful are communicative are honest and hardworking bring up their kids well got an education	disobedience not practicing their religion divorced taking short-cuts at work
13:2	Salvation Happiness Family Security Mature Love True Friendship Freedom	Honest Responsible Self-controlled Forgiving Courageous Clean	to practice their religion to get an education to be kind, helpful, community-minded, and honest to support their family	are cooperative value family life show love and affection to their parents are ambitious and hard-working practice their religion have a family and support it	divorced not practicing religion concerned for status lack discipline in raising children
13:3	Inner Harmony Self-respect Family Security Salvation Social Recognition True Friendship	Responsible Loving Ambitious Independent Capable Clean	to practice their religion to live good moral lives to support their families to be the best with what you have to be kind, helpful and respectful to be honest, obedient, and respectable	have a sense of humor are helpful are athletic enjoy family outings are loving and affectionate	not being helpful not neat and clean not responsive dishonest and selfish fighting
14:2	Family Security Salvation Wisdom Self-respect Inner Harmony True Friendship	Loving Responsible Broadminded Obedient Helpful Polite	to be respectable and stay out of trouble to be honest and obedient to be hardworking to excell in school and work to be happy and cheerful to support their family	are successful in work are popular have good marriages are family oriented practice their religion live close to home	alcoholic problems married too young failed in school not careful about appearance not practicing religion
14:3	Mature Love Wisdom Self-respect Salvation Family Security True Friendship	Loving Forgiving Obedient Courageous Helpful Honest	to be responsible and helpful to have self-knowledge to be polite to be forgiving to share with others to be happily married to get an education	are obedient and helpful are honest and sincere are playful asked for forgiveness corrects the rule-breaking of others	disobedience dishonesty unwilling to share

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
15:1	Salvation World at Peace Sense of Accomplishment Happiness Inner Harmony World of Beauty	Honest Courageous Cheerful Independent Forgiving Loving	to be honest to practice their religion to be hardworking to get an education to marry and raise a family	are practicing their religion are good parents have good jobs educated and trained their children well support their families	fighting
15:2	Salvation Wisdom Family Security World at Peace National Security Self-respect	Honest Forgiving Courageous Loving Cheerful Obedient	to have a trade or profession to marry in the church	are thoughtful are loving and affectionate are grateful are family oriented	fighting dishonesty not clean or tidy too tolerant of their children's misbehavior
15:3	Salvation Family Security Inner Harmony Happiness Freedom Self-respect	Responsible Forgiving Loving Capable Honest Courageous	to get an education to have a comfortable life to gain a wide range of experiences to be happy	are helpful and responsible are clean and tidy are honest are loving and affectionate	talking back slow to obey untidy disobedient
16:1	Salvation Family Security Inner Harmony Freedom Sense of Accomplishment Self-respect	Forgiving Obedient Honest Responsible Broadminded Helpful	to support their families to be helpful, loving, and affectionate to be faithful to their spouses to practice their religion to be hardworking to be neat and clean	are helpful are loving, affectionate, and respectful are hardworking support their families visit their parents	not practicing their religion some drink too much spending money foolishly hurt their families
16:2	Salvation Mature Love Self-respect Family Security World at Peace Wisdom	Forgiving Courageous Logical Loving Responsible Self-controlled	to get an education to practice their religion to use their talents to be law-abiding to be neat and tidy to support their families	getting married and having their own families are successful and respectable got an education practice their religion have few debts	skipping school disrespectful disobedient not practicing religion

FAMILY:GENERATION	TERMINAL VALUES	INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	EXPECTATIONS	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
16:3	Wisdom Inner Harmony Self-respect Salvation Family Security Mature Love	Intellectual Logical Courageous Honest Forgiving Loving	to develop their potential to use their talents to help others to be successful in school	attained academic success are financially responsible are helpful are neat and tidy are obedient and respectful practice their religion	forgetfulness lack of persistence lack of self-control
17:1	Salvation Family Security Wisdom Freedom Happiness True Friendship	Obedient Honest Responsible Self-controlled Forgiving	to be good parents to lead good moral lives to be honest and sincere	achieving good moral lives are hardworking are involved in the church achieved academic success show love and respect for their parents	marriage failure not active in church
18:1	Salvation Family Security World of Peace Sense of Accomplishment Freedom Happiness	Helpful Honest Clean Obedient Loving Independent	to be hardworking to be independent to get an education	are artistic teach in school got an education are helpful	alcoholic problems not supporting their families
18:2	Family Security Sense of Accomplishment Self-respect Equality Freedom World at Peace	Responsible Courageous Self-controlled Capable Independent Ambitious	to be honest to be proud of self to have the respect of others to be independent	are creative and artistic are independent got an education	disobedient disrespectful
18:3	Family Security Sense of Accomplishment Wisdom Self-respect Comfortable Life Equality	Responsible Honest Self-controlled Ambitious Capable Independent	to be independent to live good lives to develop a sense of judgment	are intelligent are hardworking and capable are responsible	are dependent are slow to obey

APPENDIX VII

SIMILARITY OF PARENTAL VALUES, PARENTAL
EXPECTATIONS, AND SOURCES OF PARENTAL
SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION IN
EACH GENERATION OF EACH FAMILY

Family Generation:	Values: Expectations	Values Satisfactions	Values: Dissatisfactions	Expectations: Satisfactions
1:1	1/4 ^a	2/5 ^b		1/5 ^d
1:2	1/4	3/5	0/3 ^c	3/5
1:3	3/4	1/6	3/3	2/6
2:1	3/4	3/6	2/3	4/6
2:2	3/5	0/5	1/4	4/5
2:3	1/4	2/7	0/2	4/7
3:1		5/7	1/3	
3:2	2/2	4/6	2/4	2/6
3:3	4/6	4/7	0/5	4/7
4:1	1/5	3/4	0/1	3/4
4:2	4/6	5/6	2/5	4/6
4:3	7/8	4/7	2/3	4/7
5:1	2/6	2/5	1/2	1/5
5:2	1/3	3/5	1/3	3/5
5:3	3/5	1/6	2/4	2/6
6:1		2/5		
6:2	1/4	1/5	0/2	1/5
6:3	8/10	2/4	4/5	2/4
7:1	1/5	4/8	1/1	2/8
7:2	4/6	4/7	2/4	2/7
7:3	5/7	1/3	1/3	0/3
8:1	2/9	4/6	1/4	4/6
8:2	2/5	2/5	2/5	3/5
9:1	2/4	4/6	4/5	3/6
9:2	0/4	3/6	3/7	2/6
9:3	2/4	3/7	2/5	2/7
10:1	4/4	4/6	1/1	3/6
10:2	4/6	4/7	0/2	4/7

Family Generation:	Values: Expectations	Values: Satisfactions	Values: Dissatisfactions	Expectations: Satisfactions
10:3	1/4	1/6	1/3	1/6
11:1	4/4	3/8	0/3	4/8
11:2	4/7	5/6	0/2	1/6
11:3	1/4	1/3	2/6	1/3
12:1	1/5	2/4	2/4	2/4
12:2	2/6	2/5	0/1	3/5
12:3	3/4	2/6	1/6	2/6
13:1	4/5	5/7	3/4	4/7
13:2	4/7	2/6	3/4	2/6
13:3	4/8	2/6	3/6	2/6
14:2	2/7	3/6	3/5	3/6
14:3	4/6	3/6	3/3	2/6
15:1	2/5	1/5	1/1	3/5
15:2	1/2	2/4	2/5	0/4
15:3	3/5	3/5	0/4	0/5
16:1	3/6	3/7	4/4	3/7
16:2	1/6	3/6	2/4	3/6
16:3	0/4	1/7	1/3	2/7
17:1	4/4	4/5	2/2	1/5
18:1	1/3	2/4	1/2	2/4
18:2	2/3	2/3	0/2	1/3
18:3	2/3	3/4	1/2	1/4

NOTE:

^aThe numerator refers to the number of reported expectations which are similar to the top-ranked values from the respondent's Value Survey. The denominator refers to the total number of reported expectations.

^bThe numerator refers to the number of reported sources of satisfaction which are similar to the top-ranked values from the respondent's

Value Survey. The denominator refers to the total number of reported sources of satisfaction.

^cThe numerator refers to the number of reported sources of dissatisfaction which are similar to the top-ranked values from the respondent's Value Survey. The denominator refers to the total number of reported sources of dissatisfaction.

^dThe numerator refers to the number of sources of satisfaction which are similar to the reported expectations. The denominator refers to the total number of reported sources of satisfaction.

APPENDIX VIII

DIFFERENCES IN MEANS OF SCORES WHICH SHOW THE RATING
OF SATISFACTION, DERIVED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES,
FOR RESPONDENTS OF DIFFERENT GENERATIONS,
GENDERS, RESIDENTIAL LOCATIONS, AND
BIRTH-ORDER, USING A FIVE-POINT RATING SCALE

Source	Frequency of the Activity	Satisfaction From the Activity
Teaching a child	3.91	4.55
Helping a child	4.09	4.68
Visiting a child	3.8	4.68
Talking about a child's accomplishments	3.44	4.02
Teaching a grandchild	3.18	4.42
Helping a grandchild	3.58	4.69
Visiting a grandchild	3.58	4.56
Talking about a grandchild's accomplishments	3.41	4.43
Helping a sibling	3.16	4.26
Visiting a sibling	3.48	4.22
Talking about a sibling's accomplishments	2.9	3.67
Helping a parent	3.44	4.55
Visiting a parent	3.73	4.42
Helping a friend	3.42	4.45
Visiting a friend	3.29	4.58
Helping a neighbor	3.22	4.27
Visiting a neighbor	3.04	4.04
Going to church	4.04	4.37
Going to a club meeting	2.45	3.05
Being able to do the things you want to do	3.9	4.53
Going to a doctor and told you are healthy	2.86	4.27
Making or fixing things around the house	3.88	4.37
Working at a favorite hobby	3.64	4.44
Gardening	3.38	4.04
Going on picnics	3.39	4.45

Source	Generation		
	1	2	3
Teaching a child	4.6	4.44	4.63
Helping a child	4.75	4.5	4.81
Visiting a child	4.73	4.73	
Talking about a child's accomplishments	3.85	4.06	4.13
Teaching a grandchild	4.38	4.5	
Helping a grandchild	4.86	4.63	
Visiting a grandchild	4.6	4.6	
Talking about a grandchild's accomplishments	4.3	4.4	
Helping a sibling	4.07	4.5	4.24
Visiting a sibling	3.71	4.5	4.35
Talking about a sibling's accomplishments	3.08	4.07	3.71
Helping a parent		4.56	4.71
Visiting a parent		4.6	4.65
Helping a friend	4.62	4.38	4.41
Visiting a friend	4.64	4.56	4.58
Helping a neighbor	4.38	4.44	4.13
Visiting a neighbor	4.0	4.25	3.88
Going to church	4.47	4.63	4.12

Source	Gender		Residence		Birth-Order	
	Male	Female	Farm	City	Oldest Child	Other Child
Teaching a child	4.5	4.57	4.57	4.54	4.6	4.48
Helping a child	4.5	4.75	4.67	4.71	4.68	4.67
Visiting a child	4.6	4.71	4.75	4.65	4.56	4.76
Talking about a child's accomplishments	3.43	3.12	4.13	4.08	3.95	4.09
Teaching a grandchild	4.38	4.43	4.25	4.45	4.3	4.45
Helping a grandchild	4.5	4.75	4.76	4.45	4.45	4.8
Visiting a grandchild	4.38	4.63	4.57	4.5	4.4	4.62
Talking about a grandchild's accomplishments	4.36	4.24	4.25	4.42	4.18	4.35
Helping a sibling	4.07	4.34	4.11	4.36	4.23	4.26
Visiting a sibling	3.73	4.44	3.78	4.48	4.38	4.07
Talking about a sibling's accomplishments	3.29	3.85	3.65	3.81	3.81	3.58
Helping a parent	4.54	4.56	4.09	4.73	4.65	4.47
Visiting a parent	4.33	4.46	4.09	4.68	4.42	4.39
Helping a friend	4.43	4.45	4.5	4.43	4.43	4.48
Visiting a friend	4.43	4.64	4.65	4.5	4.52	4.65
Helping a neighbor	4.07	4.34	4.31	4.21	4.22	4.29
Visiting a neighbor	3.73	4.17	3.89	4.14	4.04	4.0
Going to church	3.93	4.56	4.44	4.29	4.22	4.52

APPENDIX IX

SOURCES OF GRANDPARENTAL SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION

FAMILY:GENERATION	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
1:1	doing well for themselves, hardworking, raising nice families	doing things for nothing but pleasure
1:2	are thoughtful, studeous, mature and responsible	spoiled and disobedient
2:1	get an education and good jobs, responsible workers, helpful, have nice families	take advantage of their parents, are disobedient and not helpful
2:2	practice their religion and show love and affection	
3:1	show love and affection, are helpful	do things improperly
3:2	are helpful, hardworking, and responsible, got an education and good jobs	are impulsive, irresponsible, and disobedient
4:1	are responsible, honest, and active in their church	
5:1	are involved in their church, have good marriages, show love and affection	divorced, rowdy and noisey
5:2	good at athletics, nice to grandparents	too rough and careless, irresponsible
6:2	show respect, show love and affection, are helpful	
7:1	doing well in school, music, and athletics, show love and affection, are hardworking	not practicing religion
8:1		not practicing religion, obuse drugs and alcohol, irresponsible
9:1	show love and affection, got a good education, achieve professional success, hardworking, have good jobs, are sober	not practicing religion, disrespectful of parents, not thrifty, are careless and not appreciative

FAMILY:GENERATION	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
9:2	are honest and helpful, are persistent, enjoy youth and life, are individuals, want to please	poor manners lazy in school
10:1	are active in the church, got an education and good jobs, are happily married, show love and affection, are helpful	are careless, are divorced
10:2	are studious and desire to learn, are helpful and happy, are loving and affectionate	are critical of one another, fighting
11:1	are obedient and practice their religion, have nice families and good children are hardworking, loving and affectionate	are disobedient and talk back to their parents, lack self-control
11:2	show love and affection, excell in sports	too rough and do not take care of things, are not respectful
12:1	show love and affection, are helpful, got an education	spent too much money are impolite
12:2	show love and affection, visit great-grandparents, are involved in church and sports	
13:2	achieved academic success, are hardworking, are cheerful and happy	are spoiled and disobedient
14:2	are lively, open, and popular, are academic, creative, and intelligent, are obedient	not being responsive or obedient
15:1	got an education, are hardworking, have and care for families	do not practice their religion, talk back to their parents
15:2	are thoughtful, loving and affectionate, are family oriented	

FAMILY:GENERATION	SATISFACTIONS	DISSATISFACTIONS
16:1	are helpful, respectful, and obedient, are successful in school and sports seek help and advice from her	are disrespectful, lack appreciation and gratitude to their parents, are selfish
16:2	are doing well in school, are obedient and respectful, show love and affection	
17:1	are living clean moral lives, are hardworking, show love and respect, achieved academic success	not active in the church

APPENDIX X

SIMILARITY OF GRANDPARENTAL VALUES AND
SOURCES OF GRANDPARENTAL SATISFACTION
AND DISSATISFACTION FOR EACH GRANDPARENT

Family: Generation	Value Satisfaction	Satisfaction: Child	Satisfaction: Grandchild	Value Dissatisfaction	Dissatisfaction: Child	Dissatisfaction: Grandchild
1:1	2/3 ^a	2/3 ^b	.	1/1 ^c	.	0/1 ^d
1:2	2/4	3/4	.	1/2	.	0/2
2:1	3/6	2/6	.	2/2	.	
2:2	0/2	1/2	.			
3:1	1/2	2/2	.	0/2	.	
3:2	4/5	3/5	.	0/3	.	
4:1	1/3	3/3	.			
5:1	2/3	3/3	.	1/2	.	
5:2	1/2	1/2	.	0/3	.	
6:2	0/3	1/3	.			
7:1	4/5	3/5	.	1/1	.	
9:1	4/7	3/7	.	2/4	.	
9:2	2/7	2/7	.	0/2	.	
10:1	3/5	2/5	.	1/2	.	
10:2	2/5	3/5	.	0/2	.	
11:1	2/6	2/6	.	0/3	.	
11:2	1/2	2/2	.	2/3	.	
12:1	1/3	2/3	.	2/3	.	
12:2	1/4	1/4	.			
13:2	1/4	1/4	.	0/2	.	
14:2	2/7	1/7	.	2/2	.	

Generation	Value Satisfaction	Satisfaction: Child		Value Dissatisfaction	Dissatisfaction: Child
		Satisfaction: Grandchild	Dissatisfaction: Grandchild		
15:1	0/4	2/4	1/2		0/2
15:2	2/4	4/4			
16:1	4/6	4/6	3/4	1/4	
16:2	1/3	1/3	0/1	0/1	
17:1	3/6	6/6	0/1	0/1	

NOTE:

a The numerator refers to the number of reported sources of grandparental satisfactions which are reflected in the top-ranked values of the respondent's Value Survey. The denominator refers to the total number of reported sources of grandparental satisfaction.

b The numerator refers to the number of reported sources of satisfaction derived from a grandchild which are similar to the reported sources of satisfaction derived from a child. The denominator refers to the total number of reported sources of satisfaction derived from a grandchild.

c The numerator refers to the number of reported sources of grandparental dissatisfaction which are reflected in the top-ranked values of the respondent's Value Survey. The denominator refers to the total number of reported sources of grandparental dissatisfaction.

d The numerator refers to the number of reported sources of dissatisfaction derived from a grandchild which are similar to the reported sources of dissatisfaction derived from a child. The denominator refers to the total number of reported sources of grandparental dissatisfaction.

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